

Russell -

We will give a joint reaction to our reading of this, and since you mentioned that we could write on the manuscript itself, I have put comments at the end of each Chapter, mainly, but other briefer ones on other pages. We put them in pencil on the manuscript so they can be erased, if you wish.

Briefly, we thought it was all good except the first Chapter. There ~~is~~ something about Chapter I, which makes it hard to read. We both had the impression that "if it is all like this, I don't know if I will want to finish it." The ideas are all right, but they are expressed in too heavy a manner. (Perhaps too many ideas.)

We tried to analyze it in the suggestions on the title page, and in comments throughout the Chapter. It is just our opinion - may be wrong.

The rest of it, for the most part, was excellent material, we thought.

C.W.



## THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN

Co-worker With God  
in Building the Good Society

1. Christian Evangelism and Citizenship.
2. Christian Foundations of Citizenship.
3. Prayer and Citizenship.
4. Historical Perspective for the Christian Citizen.
5. The Christian Citizen and Public Education.
6. The Christian Citizen and Government.
7. The Christian Citizen and Social Security.
8. The Christian Citizen and Foreign Policy.
9. The Christian Citizen and Economic Life.
10. The Christian Citizen and Race Relations.
11. The Christian Citizen and Offenders.
12. The Christian Citizen and Civil Liberties.

*These are our impressions. (of first chapter)*

1. The writing is a bit grim and heavy.
2. Should not put too many ideas to the reader so fast.
3. Lighten it and make it more readable, and perhaps understandable by illustrations and stories.
4. It has to be brought down to earth more to be practical in our very complex society. Just to tell a person he must believe in Jesus to be "saved" is not that easy. People who struggle with spiritual problems sometimes do not find it that simple.



## Chapter 1

### CHRISTIAN EVANGELISM AND CITIZENSHIP

The purpose of Christian evangelism is the winning of individuals to Christ and to the doing of the will of God. It is our faith that salvation comes through our Lord Jesus. Thus evangelism is the preeminent work of the church, the winning of individuals one by one to total allegiance to Jesus Christ.

"And Jesus came and said to them, 'All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, to the close of the age.'"

If this task is faithfully to be accomplished, our minds must be clear as to what salvation is and how we know whether or not a man is saved. Our Lord said that his message could be summed up in fuller understanding of the ancient admonition to love God with utter completeness and to love people that way. His earthly work was to show what this means and how it may be done.

We are called upon to respond to the measureless affection of our Father by turning toward him eagerly with adoration and gratitude, with ardent desire to know what he wants us to do, and with resolute commitment to the doing of what is right in his sight, with continuing petition that we may be granted faith and courage and perseverance as his co-workers in creating the beloved community on this earth, and with unfaltering trust that as we do his will he will continue to shower blessings upon us through all eternity.

We are called upon to love our brethren with self-giving concern for their salvation and wellbeing, to recognize them as holy temples of our God, to have compassion upon them and to minister to them in affection, to treat them with respect and considerateness, to forgive them and seek their forgiveness, to intercede for them that they may know what is right and accept power from God in doing it, to work with them as fellow laborers in our Father's vineyard.

Thus it is apparent that salvation is right relationship. We are saved as we commit ourselves to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and seek

*This may  
be opened  
to question  
by some*



to do his holy will. Jesus saves us by bringing to us revelation of the character of God and knowledge of the divine purpose, by the power of his appeal to our conscience and to our will, by the sublimity of his teaching, by the matchless perfection of his attitudes and actions, by the unequalled pulling power of his sacrificial fidelity even to the shame and suffering of the Cross, by bringing to us the glorious wisdom and the marvelous power of the Holy Spirit, by breaking the bonds of death and sharing with us his living presence evermore, by impelling us to love our neighbor as we love ourselves and as we love our Father (the second commandment being like unto the first), by empowering us to seek first and always the Kingdom of God and to let our lights shine to the glory of God and the salvation of our brethren.

In the parable of the Last Judgment, our Lord makes it plain that salvation is achieved in daily conduct by our attitudes and actions and relationships. We are saved as we share ourselves in self-giving concern, and as we live as good members of the household of God. We are lost as we live with self-centeredness and neglect of our brethren. Surely this is what our Lord meant as he pointed out that when a man seeks to save his own life he will surely lose it, and that when he loses himself in a ministry of lovingkindness he finds life indeed.

Salvation is right relationship with God and with our fellows. Damnation is alienation from our Father and from our kinsmen. We enter heaven as we turn toward God with reverence and obedience. We plunge into hell as we face men with ill will and hostility, and display defiance of the loving will of God. We are not sent to heaven by an arbitrary decision of a Judge, nor are we condemned to hell by decree. We follow our Lord into heaven as we reflect his spirit and share in his work, and we move into hell as we forget God, refuse to strive for Christlikeness, and regard our brethren as means to our own self-centered ends.

Salvation and damnation are states of being, rather than arrival at certain places. God is a spirit and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth. We are spirits created in the divine image, housed in physical residences in this life, and destined to be released from the

*This sounds too much like the old  
"hell-fire and damnation" preaching.*

*If we're  
as simple  
as this,  
Life is too  
complex  
for some  
people*



bondage of the flesh in the world to come. The divine spirit of God is everywhere, pervading the entire universe. Even in this life the spirit of man is not confined to his house. He may climb right out of his habitation, turn around, take a good look at himself, and send his thoughts and affection to the ends of the earth. Spirit is spaceless. Our living Lord is equally in Los Angeles and London and Bombay. The living God is eager simultaneously to enter the open door of every human being on this wide earth. Salvation is relationship. Damnation is relationship. We are saved as human spirit communes with divine Spirit. We are saved as human spirit enters into fellowship with human spirit.

Thus it is plain that the vivid imagery used by Lord at the conclusion of the parable of the Last Judgment must not be perverted by literalism. Doing the will of God is heaven, alienation from God is hell. The glorious of life with God cannot be described even with all the superlatives of language. The anguish of life with ~~God~~ God is beyond all portrayal. Even the fires of Gehenna, the city garbage dump of Jerusalem, cannot illustrate the full agony of separation from God and alienation from our brethren. A moment's reflection makes it plain that our Lord was not speaking of a literal flame which consumes the human spirit, because only the fleshly tabernacle can be dissolved, while the spirit of man is beyond all burning. We do well to heed the warning of our Lord that the literal text may kill, while the spirit of the word brings life. Heaven is very real, hell is no mere figure of speech. Men go to heaven and men go to hell, and are separated by a fathomless abyss. The distance between right relationship and wrong relationship is immeasurable. *not always obvious*

Evangelism is the work of saving men to right relationship with God and with their fellows, saving them from selfishness, callousness, cruelty, greed, hatred, enmity, violence. The domain of God embraces all life. Every relationship in every area of life must be redeemed. We must be saved in the home, in the neighborhood, in the office, in the shop, in our dealings with men of other races and nations, in the legislature and executive mansion and on the bench.

All this becomes clearer when we realize that Jesus placed the ideals of God of the perfect home before us as the ~~standard~~ standard by which all attitudes

*Will this reference be fully understood?*

*Not clear*



and actions and relationships are to be tested. This earth is meant to be a little colony of heaven. The way men ought to live in a perfect home is the way they must strive to live all the time in all relationships with all people.

Thus evangelism is much broader and much deeper than we have sometimes presented it. Men must be brought individually to commitment to the Lord Jesus and to the living God. Salvation is intensely personal. No one else can save an individual. He must use his own freedom of choice and voluntarily turn toward God in reverent obedience if he is to be saved. He must personally accept Christ as his guide and redeemer. He must take up his cross and follow wherever he is led. Individual salvation is the bedrock of the good society.

Men cannot save himself in a vacuum. He must be saved in his relationships, with God and with Jesus, with his wife and children, with his neighbors near and far. It is not sufficient that he be saved in some of his relationships, he must strive for complete salvation in attitude and action in all his dealings with all people.

Thus the simple gospel is broader and deeper than we have some sometimes thought. The good news is as simple and as profound as right living with God and with our fellows. It is as narrow and as inclusive as love itself. The gospel is the message of redeemed relationships. No other foundation is immovable save that which has already been laid by our Lord in his appeal to love God with utter devotion and to love people with complete unselfishness.

This gospel of salvation must be proclaimed to a people who are now immersed in secularism, that is, life without God. The tragedy is that millions of our people live as if there is no God. Some deny his very existence; some give assent to the idea of God, but do not take him into account in making their primary decisions; some acknowledge his sovereignty in certain areas of life and at certain times; no one of us gives him total allegiance in all life at all times.

The need of our civilization for redemption is desperate beyond all exaggeration. We live in a world society which is less like the divine



family than it bears resemblance to the jungle and the slaughter house. Too often our homes are little infernos, as is evidenced by the number of husbands and wives who lose mental balance and end their days in institutions for the deranged, by the wide prevalence of juvenile delinquency, and by the appalling proportion of divorces in relations to the number of marriages.

Vast numbers of our people are seeking to find satisfaction in living by resorting to strong drink, looseness in sex relations, and in an endless whirl of excitement. Multitudes of men and women are living with no higher purpose than the satisfaction of their physical appetites and the achievement of self-centered ambitions. Great numbers of our young people are made reckless and irresponsible by inability to see any significance in life and living without a cause to which they can render the full measure of their devotion. Cleavage is everywhere visible in our social order: employers are arrayed against workers, sellers are struggling against competitors, producers are seeking to profit at the expense of consumers, the walls of segregation remain high although they are crumbling, the realm of politics has many of the characteristics of a battlefield, business and public life alike are honeycombed with greed and corruption, in our effort to defend high values we are filling our people with suspicion, fear and enmity, and the confidence of many is in our power of massive retaliation.

Truly, we are in desperate need of salvation. As Jesus wept over the people of Jerusalem, so our God is groaning over us with groanings which cannot find expression. He has entrusted us with the gospel of salvation, and his power is awaiting our utilization. We are called upon to be messengers and co-workers with our Lord Jesus in doing God's will. Evangelism is the supreme work of the church and the hope of salvation for individuals and for society. In penitence and with fuller devotion, let us give ourselves in faithful and joyous witnessing to the saving power of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

*Many excellent ideas and the basic premise is right, but not a good beginning chapter. Might discourage the reader from going on.*



## CHRISTIAN FOUNDATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP

EVERY INDIVIDUAL ON THIS EARTH IS PRECIOUS IN THE SIGHT OF GOD AND IS ESSENTIAL TO THE COMPLETION OF THE DIVINE PURPOSE. LONG AGO ST. AUGUSTINE PRAYED: "O GOD, THOU HAST MADE US FOR THYSELF, AND WE CAN NEVER REST UNTIL WE REST IN THEE." WE NEED GOD URGENTLY AND EVEN DESPERATELY. BUT THE OTHER SIDE OF ST. AUGUSTINE'S PRAYER IS THE TRUTH THAT GOD CAN NEVER REST UNTIL HE WINS OUR COMPANIONSHIP AND COOPERATION IN FULFILLING HIS HOLY PURPOSE. URGENTLY HE NEEDS US.

GOD IS LOVE. HE IS OUR HEAVENLY FATHER AND CAN NEVER BE FULLY HIMSELF IN ISOLATION. A PARENT LONGS FOR COMPANIONSHIP AND REQUIRES HELP IN BUILDING A JOYOUS HOME. LONELINESS COMES WHEN LOVE IS IGNORED OR REJECTED. IT IS SOBERING TO REFLECT UPON THE NUMBER OF GOD'S CHILDREN AROUND THIS WIDE EARTH WHO PAY NO ATTENTION TO HIM AND NEVER TURN TO HIM EAGERLY IN REVERENCE AND GRATITUDE. ADDITIONAL MILLIONS OF US DO MAKE AN EFFORT TO PLEASE HIM, BUT BRING GRIEF TO HIS HEART BY OUR LUKEWARMNESS AND TIMES OF FORGETFULNESS AND REBELLION AGAINST HIS LOVING WILL.

IN THE BOOK OF ROMANS WE READ OF THE LONELINESS AND GRIEF OF GOD. REFLECT UPON THESE WORDS: "WE KNOW THAT THE WHOLE CREATION HAS BEEN GROANING IN TRAVAIL UNTIL NOW...LIKEWISE THE SPIRIT HELPS US IN OUR WEAKNESS; FOR WE DO NOT KNOW HOW TO PRAY AS WE OUGHT, BUT THE SPIRIT HIMSELF INTERCEDES FOR US WITH SIGHS TOO DEEP FOR WORDS."

LONG AGO HOSEA UNDERSTOOD GOD TO SAY:

WHEN ISRAEL WAS A CHILD, I LOVED HIM,  
AND OUT OF EGYPT I CALLED MY SON.  
THE MORE I CALLED THEM,  
THE MORE THEY WENT FROM ME;  
THEY KEPT SACRIFICING TO THE BAALS,  
AND BURNING INCENSE TO IDOLS.  
YET IT WAS I WHO TAUGHT EPHRAIM TO WALK,  
I TOOK THEM UP IN MY ARMS;  
BUT THEY DID NOT KNOW THAT I HEALED THEM.  
I LED THEM WITH CORDS OF COMPASSION,  
WITH BANDS OF LOVE,  
AND I BECAME TO THEM AS ONE  
WHO EASES THE YOKE ON THEIR JAWS  
AND I BENT DOWN TO THEM AND FED THEM...  
HOW CAN I GIVE YOU UP, O EPHRAIM!  
HOW CAN I HAND YOU OVER, O ISRAEL!

GOD NEEDS MORE THAN COMPANIONSHIP, HE REQUIRES HELP. IN HIS INFINITE WISDOM, HE HAS PLACED RESPONSIBILITY UPON HIS CHILDREN AND DEPENDS UPON THEIR COOPERATION. LOVE IN ITS NATURE IS MUTUAL. A FATHER ALONE CANNOT BUILD A JOYOUS HOME. HE MUST DO HIS PART AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD MUST DO THEIR PART. SEE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS TRUTH AS YOU REFLECT UPON A HUNGRY BABY. GOD KNOWS



ABOUT THE HUNGER, HE LOVES THE CHILD WITH ALL HIS INFINITE AFFECTION, GOD WANTS HIM TO BE STRONG AND ROBUST, GOD IS DOING EVERYTHING HE CAN DO FOR THE INFANT BUT HE NEEDS HUMAN HELP. IF HE RECEIVES THE RIGHT KIND OF COOPERATION AT THE RIGHT TIME, THE BABY WILL BE WELL FED AND AMPLY NOURISHED. IF THIS HUMAN HELP IS NOT FORTHCOMING, THE CHILD WILL DIE OF HUNGER IN SPITE OF EVERYTHING GOD IS DOING. AND THE TRAGIC TRUTH IS THAT MILLIONS OF BABIES HAVE IN OUR LIFETIME DIED OF STARVATION BECAUSE GOD DID NOT RECEIVE SUFFICIENT HELP.

CONSIDER ALSO THE EDUCATION OF A BABY. IF GOD ALONE AND UNAIDED HAD TO TEACH THE INFANT TO SPEAK AND WRITE, HE WOULD BE REQUIRED IN EACH CASE TO HELP THE BABY DEVISE AN ALPHABET, FORM WORDS, PARAGRAPHS AND SENTENCES, AND TO BEGIN WHERE HE STARTED WITH PRIMITIVE MAN. A CHILD DEVELOPS MENTALLY WHEN GOD RECEIVES THE RIGHT KIND OF HELP IN HIS TRAINING. SO IT IS WITH PRAYER. HUMAN ASSISTANCE IS REQUIRED IF THE CHILD IS TO DEVELOP IN WISDOM AND STATURE AND IN FAVOR WITH GOD AND MEN.

ALL LIFE IS PARTNERSHIP. GOD CAN BE DEPENDED UPON TO DO HIS PART. HE IS SO WISE THAT EVEN HIS "FOOLISHNESS" IS BEYOND THE WISDOM OF MEN. HE IS SO POWERFUL THAT EVEN HIS "WEAKNESS" IS MIGHTIER THAN ANY STRENGTH OF MEN. AND HE IS AS GOOD AS GOODNESS CAN BE IMAGINED. ALL THIS WE MEAN WHEN WE SAY THAT OUR GOD IS CHRISTLIKE. BUT THE BIBLE TELLS US PLAINLY THAT OUR HELP IS NEEDED IN BUILDING THE DIVINE SOCIETY. ~~REFLECT UPON THESE VERSES:~~ "FOR WE ARE FELLOW WORKMEN FOR GOD; YOU ARE GOD'S FIELD, GOD'S BUILDING. ACCORDING TO THE COMMISSION OF GOD GIVEN TO ME, LIKE A SKILLED MASTER-BUILDER I LAID A FOUNDATION, AND ANOTHER MAN IS BUILDING UPON IT. LET EACH MAN TAKE CARE HOW HE BUILDS UPON IT. FOR NO OTHER FOUNDATION CAN ANY ONE LAY THAN THAT WHICH IS LAID, WHICH IS JESUS CHRIST." "SO THEN YOU ARE NO LONGER STRANGERS AND SOJOURNERS, BUT YOU ARE FELLOW CITIZENS WITH THE SAINTS AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD OF GOD, BUILT UPON THE FOUNDATION OF THE APOSTLES AND PROPHETS, CHRIST JESUS HIMSELF BEING THE CHIEF CORNERSTONE, IN WHOM THE WHOLE STRUCTURE IS JOINED TOGETHER AND GROWS INTO A HOLY TEMPLE IN THE LORD; IN WHOM YOU ALSO ARE BUILT INTO IT FOR A DWELLING OF GOD IN THE SPIRIT." "IF YOU ABIDE IN ME, AND MY WORDS ABIDE IN YOU, ASK WHATEVER YOU WILL, AND IT SHALL BE DONE FOR YOU. BY THIS MY FATHER IS GLORIFIED, THAT YOU BEAR MUCH FRUIT, AND SO PROVE TO BE MY DISCIPLES." "TRULY, TRULY, I SAY TO YOU, HE WHO BELIEVES IN ME WILL ALSO DO THE WORKS THAT I DO; AND GREATER WORKS THAN THESE WILL HE DO, BECAUSE I GO TO THE FATHER." "LET YOUR LIGHT SO SHINE BEFORE MEN, THAT THEY MAY SEE YOUR GOOD WORKS AND GIVE GLORY TO YOUR FATHER WHO IS IN HEAVEN."

TRULY ALL LIFE IS A PARTNERSHIP. NO MAN LIVETH TO HIMSELF, AND NO MAN DIETH TO HIMSELF.



WE ARE BOUND WITH INDISSOLUBLE TIES. GOD IS OUR FATHER AND ALL MEN EVERYWHERE ARE OUR KINSMEN. IN LITERAL TRUTH WE ARE OUR BROTHER'S KEEPER. WE ARE ENDOWED WITH ALL THE FACULTIES NEEDED TO LIVE AS GOOD MEMBERS OF GOD'S HOME. WE ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR ONE ANOTHER. OUR LORD REMINDED HIS DISCIPLES THAT SELF-CENTEREDNESS IS DEATH AND THAT LIFE IS FOUND IN SHARING WITH OTHERS IN UTMOST MEASURE. IT IS MORE BLESSED TO GIVE THAN TO RECEIVE BECAUSE OF THE WAY WE ARE MADE. JOY COMES FROM AFFECTION AND FELLOWSHIP.

OUR LORD TAUGHT HIS DISCIPLES TO PRAY FOR THE COMING OF GOD'S KINGDOM ON EARTH. HUMAN SOCIETY IS INTENDED TO BE A LITTLE COLONY OF HEAVEN. IT IS THE WILL OF GOD THAT IT SHOULD BE SAID ABOUT US AS IT WAS OF THE EARLY CHURCH, BEHOLD HOW THESE CHRISTIANS LOVE ONE ANOTHER. "BELOVED, LET US LOVE ONE ANOTHER; FOR LOVE IS OF GOD, AND HE WHO LOVES IS BORN OF GOD AND KNOWS GOD...BELOVED, IF GOD SO LOVED US, WE ALSO OUGHT TO LOVE ONE ANOTHER. NO MAN HAS EVER SEEN GOD; IF WE LOVE ONE ANOTHER, GOD ABIDES IN US AND HIS LOVE IS PERFECTED IN US." "FOR THE WHOLE LAW IS FULFILLED IN ONE WORD, "YOU SHALL LOVE YOUR NEIGHBOR AS YOURSELF. BUT IF YOU BITE AND DEVOUR ONE ANOTHER TAKE HEED THAT YOU ARE NOT CONSUMED BY ONE ANOTHER...THE FRUIT OF THE SPIRIT IS LOVE, JOY, PEACE, PATIENCE, KINDNESS, GOODNESS, FAITHFULNESS, GENTLENESS, SELF-CONTROL; AGAINST SUCH THERE IS NO LAW. AND THOSE WHO BELONG TO CHRIST JESUS HAVE CRUCIFIED THE FLESH WITH ITS PASSIONS AND DESIRES. IF WE LIVE BY THE SPIRIT, LET US ALSO WALK BY THE SPIRIT...AND LET US NOT GROW WEARY IN WELL-DOING, FOR IN DUE SEASON WE SHALL REAP, IF WE DO NOT LOSE HEART. SO THEN, AS WE HAVE OPPORTUNITY, LET US DO GOOD TO ALL MEN, ESPECIALLY TO THOSE WHO ARE OF THE HOUSEHOLD OF FAITH."

SEE THIS SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY REVEALED IN THE LIFE OF A MISSIONARY. HE IS PROMPTED BY THE HOLY SPIRIT TO BE CONCERNED OVER THE SALVATION AND WELL BEING OF THE PEOPLE OF A FAR OFF LAND. HE COMMITS HIMSELF TO THE DIVINE WILL AND FEELS CALLED TO BE GOD'S MESSENGER TO THAT PEOPLE. HE CONSECRATES HIMSELF, TRAINS HIMSELF AND GIVES HIMSELF TO THEIR REDEMPTION. THE TRUE MISSIONARY IS LESS CONCERNED ABOUT HIS OWN COMFORT AND SAFETY THAN HE IS WITH THE WINNING OF MEN AND WOMEN, BOYS AND GIRLS, TO THE LORD JESUS AND TO A LIFE OF COMRADESHIP WITH THE LIVING GOD. HIS HIGHEST EXALTATIONS DO NOT COME FROM MATERIAL THINGS, BUT FROM SHARING HIMSELF TO THE UTMOST AND FROM THE LOVE AND COMPANIONSHIP OF HIS FELLOWS.

LISTEN TO THIS TESTIMONY FROM ALBERT SCHWEITZER, ONE OF THE GREATST OF MISSIONARIES: "I COULD NOT BUT FEEL WITH A SYMPATHY FULL OF REGRET ALL THE PAIN THAT I SAW AROUND ME, NOT ONLY THAT OF MEN BUT THAT OF THE WHOLE CREATION. FROM THIS COMMUNITY OF SUFFERING I HAVE NEVER TRIED TO WITHDRAW MYSELF. IT SEEMED TO ME A MATTER OF COURSE THAT WE SHOULD ALL TAKE OUR SHARE OF THE BURDEN



OF PAIN WHICH LIES UPON THE WORLD...IN MY OWN LIFE ANXIETY, TROUBLE, AND SORROW HAVE BEEN ALLOTTED TO ME AT TIMES IN SUCH ABUNDANT MEASURE THAT HAD MY NERVES NOT BEEN STRONG, I MUST HAVE BROKEN DOWN UNDER THE WEIGHT...BUT I HAVE HAD BLESSINGS TOO: THAT I AM ALLOWED TO WORK IN THE SERVICE OF MERCY; THAT MY WORK HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL; THAT I RECEIVE FROM OTHER PEOPLE AFFECTION AND KINDNESS IN ABUNDANCE; THAT I HAVE LOYAL HELPERS, WHO IDENTIFY THEMSELVES WITH MY ACTIVITY; THAT I ENJOY A HEALTH WHICH ALLOWS ME TO UNDERTAKE MOST EXHAUSTING WORK; THAT I HAVE A WELL-BALANCED TEMPERAMENT WHICH VARIES LITTLE, AND AN ENERGY WHICH EXERTS ITSELF WITH CALMNESS AND DELIBERATION; AND, FINALLY, THAT I CAN RECOGNIZE AS SUCH WHATEVER HAPPINESS FALLS TO MY LOT, ACCEPTING IT ALSO AS A THING FOR WHICH SOME THANK-OFFERING IS DUE FROM ME."

THAT IS THE WAY EVERY CHRISTIAN IS SUPPOSED TO LIVE, AS A GOOD MEMBER OF GOD'S HOME, WITH A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY, AND WITH ONE'S CUP RUNNING OVER WITH THE JOYS OF SHARING IN THE HOLY ENDEAVOR TO CREATE THE BELOVED COMMUNITY.



## CHRISTIAN FOUNDATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP

EVERY INDIVIDUAL ON THIS EARTH IS PRECIOUS IN THE SIGHT OF GOD AND IS ESSENTIAL TO THE COMPLETION OF THE DIVINE PURPOSE. LONG AGO ST. AUGUSTINE PRAYED: "O GOD, THOU HAST MADE US FOR THYSELF, AND WE CAN NEVER REST UNTIL WE REST IN THEE." WE NEED GOD URGENTLY AND EVEN DESPERATELY. BUT THE OTHER SIDE OF ST. AUGUSTINE'S PRAYER IS THE TRUTH THAT GOD CAN NEVER REST UNTIL HE WINS OUR COMPANIONSHIP AND COOPERATION IN FULFILLING HIS HOLY PURPOSE. URGENTLY HE NEEDS US.

GOD IS LOVE. HE IS OUR HEAVENLY FATHER AND CAN NEVER BE FULLY HIMSELF IN ISOLATION. A PARENT LONGS FOR COMPANIONSHIP AND REQUIRES HELP IN BUILDING A JOYOUS HOME. LONELINESS COMES WHEN LOVE IS IGNORED OR REJECTED. IT IS SOBERING TO REFLECT UPON THE NUMBER OF GOD'S CHILDREN AROUND THIS WIDE EARTH WHO PAY NO ATTENTION TO HIM AND NEVER TURN TO HIM EAGERLY IN REVERENCE AND GRATITUDE. ADDITIONAL MILLIONS OF US DO MAKE AN EFFORT TO PLEASE HIM, BUT BRING GRIEF TO HIS HEART BY OUR LUKEWARMNESS AND TIMES OF FORGETFULNESS AND REBELLION AGAINST HIS LOVING WILL.

IN THE BOOK OF ROMANS WE READ OF THE LONELINESS AND GRIEF OF GOD. REFLECT UPON THESE WORDS: "WE KNOW THAT THE WHOLE CREATION HAS BEEN GROANING IN TRAVAIL UNTIL NOW... LIKEWISE THE SPIRIT HELPS US IN OUR WEAKNESS; FOR WE DO NOT KNOW HOW TO PRAY AS WE OUGHT, BUT THE SPIRIT HIMSELF INTERCEDES FOR US WITH SIGNS TOO DEEP FOR WORDS."

LONG AGO HOSEA UNDERSTOOD GOD TO SAY:

WHEN ISRAEL WAS A CHILD, I LOVED HIM,  
AND OUT OF EGYPT I CALLED MY SON.  
THE MORE I CALLED THEM,  
THE MORE THEY WENT FROM ME;  
THEY KEPT SACRIFICING TO THE BAALS,  
AND BURNING INCENSE TO IDOLS.  
YET IT WAS I WHO TAUGHT EPHRAIM TO WALK,  
I TOOK THEM UP IN MY ARMS;  
BUT THEY DID NOT KNOW THAT I HEALED THEM.  
I LED THEM WITH CORDS OF COMPASSION,  
WITH BANDS OF LOVE,  
AND I BECAME TO THEM AS ONE  
WHO EASES THE YOKE ON THEIR JAWS  
AND I BENT DOWN TO THEM AND FED THEM...  
HOW CAN I GIVE YOU UP, O EPHRAIM!  
HOW CAN I HAND YOU OVER, O ISRAEL!

GOD NEEDS MORE THAN COMPANIONSHIP, HE REQUIRES HELP. IN HIS INFINITE WISDOM, HE HAS PLACED RESPONSIBILITY UPON HIS CHILDREN AND DEPENDS UPON THEIR COOPERATION. LOVE IN ITS NATURE IS MUTUAL. A FATHER ALONE CANNOT BUILD A JOYOUS HOME. HE MUST DO HIS PART AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD MUST DO THEIR PART. SEE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS TRUTH AS YOU REFLECT UPON A HUNGRY BABY. GOD KNOWS



ABOUT THE HUNGER, HE LOVES THE CHILD WITH ALL HIS INFINITE AFFECTION, GOD WANTS HIM TO BE STRONG AND ROBUST, GOD IS DOING EVERYTHING HE CAN DO FOR THE INFANT BUT HE NEEDS HUMAN HELP. IF HE RECEIVES THE RIGHT KIND OF COOPERATION AT THE RIGHT TIME, THE BABY WILL BE WELL FED AND AMPLY NOURISHED. IF THIS HUMAN HELP IS NOT FORTHCOMING, THE CHILD WILL DIE OF HUNGER IN SPITE OF EVERYTHING GOD IS DOING. AND THE TRAGIC TRUTH IS THAT MILLIONS OF BABIES HAVE IN OUR LIFETIME DIED OF STARVATION BECAUSE GOD DID NOT RECEIVE SUFFICIENT HELP.

CONSIDER ALSO THE EDUCATION OF A BABY. IF GOD ALONE AND UNAIDED HAD TO TEACH THE INFANT TO SPEAK AND WRITE, HE WOULD BE REQUIRED IN EACH CASE TO HELP THE BABY DEVISE AN ALPHABET, FORM WORDS, PARAGRAPHS AND SENTENCES, AND TO BEGIN WHERE HE STARTED WITH PRIMITIVE MAN. A CHILD DEVELOPS MENTALLY WHEN GOD RECEIVES THE RIGHT KIND OF HELP IN HIS TRAINING. SO IT IS WITH PRAYER. HUMAN ASSISTANCE IS REQUIRED IF THE CHILD IS TO DEVELOP IN WISDOM AND STATURE AND IN FAVOR WITH GOD AND MEN.

ALL LIFE IS PARTNERSHIP. GOD CAN BE DEPENDED UPON TO DO HIS PART. HE IS SO WISE THAT EVEN HIS "FOOLISHNESS" IS BEYOND THE WISDOM OF MEN. HE IS SO POWERFUL THAT EVEN HIS "WEAKNESS" IS MIGHTIER THAN ANY STRENGTH OF MEN. AND HE IS AS GOOD AS GOODNESS CAN BE IMAGINED. ALL THIS WE MEAN WHEN WE SAY THAT OUR GOD IS CHRISTLIKE. BUT THE BIBLE TELLS US PLAINLY THAT OUR HELP IS NEEDED IN BUILDING THE DIVINE SOCIETY. REFLECT UPON THESE VERSES: "FOR WE ARE FELLOW WORKMEN FOR GOD; YOU ARE GOD'S FIELD, GOD'S BUILDING. ACCORDING TO THE COMMISSION OF GOD GIVEN TO ME, LIKE A SKILLED MASTER-BUILDER I LAID A FOUNDATION, AND ANOTHER MAN IS BUILDING UPON IT. LET EACH MAN TAKE CARE HOW HE BUILDS UPON IT. FOR NO OTHER FOUNDATION CAN ANY ONE LAY THAN THAT WHICH IS LAID, WHICH IS JESUS CHRIST." "SO THEN YOU ARE NO LONGER STRANGERS AND SOJOURNERS, BUT YOU ARE FELLOW CITIZENS WITH THE SAINTS AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD OF GOD, BUILT UPON THE FOUNDATION OF THE APOSTLES AND PROPHETS, CHRIST JESUS HIMSELF BEING THE CHIEF CORNERSTONE, IN WHOM THE WHOLE STRUCTURE IS JOINED TOGETHER AND GROWS INTO A HOLY TEMPLE IN THE LORD; IN WHOM YOU ALSO ARE BUILT INTO IT FOR A DWELLING OF GOD IN THE SPIRIT." "IF YOU ABIDE IN ME, AND MY WORDS ABIDE IN YOU, ASK WHATEVER YOU WILL, AND IT SHALL BE DONE FOR YOU. BY THIS MY FATHER IS GLORIFIED, THAT YOU BEAR MUCH FRUIT, AND SO PROVE TO BE MY DISCIPLES." "TRULY, TRULY, I SAY TO YOU, HE WHO BELIEVES IN ME WILL ALSO DO THE WORKS THAT I DO; AND GREATER WORKS THAN THESE WILL HE DO, BECAUSE I GO TO THE FATHER." "LET YOUR LIGHT SO SHINE BEFORE MEN, THAT THEY MAY SEE YOUR GOOD WORKS AND GIVE GLORY TO YOUR FATHER WHO IS IN HEAVEN."

TRULY ALL LIFE IS A PARTNERSHIP. NO MAN LIVETH TO HIMSELF, AND NO MAN DIETH TO HIMSELF.



WE ARE BOUND WITH INDISSOLUBLE TIES. GOD IS OUR FATHER AND ALL MEN EVERYWHERE ARE OUR KINSMEN. IN LITERAL TRUTH WE ARE OUR BROTHER'S KEEPER. WE ARE ENDOWED WITH ALL THE FACULTIES NEEDED TO LIVE AS GOOD MEMBERS OF GOD'S HOME. WE ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR ONE ANOTHER. OUR LORD REMINDED HIS DISCIPLES THAT SELF-CENTEREDNESS IS DEATH AND THAT LIFE IS FOUND IN SHARING WITH OTHERS IN UTMOST MEASURE. IT IS MORE BLESSED TO GIVE THAN TO RECEIVE BECAUSE OF THE WAY WE ARE MADE. JOY COMES FROM AFFECTION AND FELLOWSHIP.

OUR LORD TAUGHT HIS DISCIPLES TO PRAY FOR THE COMING OF GOD'S KINGDOM ON EARTH. HUMAN SOCIETY IS INTENDED TO BE A LITTLE COLONY OF HEAVEN. IT IS THE WILL OF GOD THAT IT SHOULD BE SAID ABOUT US AS IT WAS OF THE EARLY CHURCH, BEHOLD HOW THESE CHRISTIANS LOVE ONE ANOTHER. "BELOVED, LET US LOVE ONE ANOTHER; FOR LOVE IS OF GOD, AND HE WHO LOVES IS BORN OF GOD AND KNOWS GOD...BELOVED, IF GOD SO LOVED US, WE ALSO OUGHT TO LOVE ONE ANOTHER. NO MAN HAS EVER SEEN GOD; IF WE LOVE ONE ANOTHER, GOD ABIDES IN US AND HIS LOVE IS PERFECTED IN US." "FOR THE WHOLE LAW IS FULFILLED IN ONE WORD, "YOU SHALL LOVE YOUR NEIGHBOR AS YOURSELF. BUT IF YOU BITE AND DEVOUR ONE ANOTHER TAKE HEED THAT YOU ARE NOT CONSUMED BY ONE ANOTHER...THE FRUIT OF THE SPIRIT IS LOVE, JOY, PEACE, PATIENCE, KINDNESS, GOODNESS, FAITHFULNESS, GENTLENESS, SELF-CONTROL; AGAINST SUCH THERE IS NO LAW. AND THOSE WHO BELONG TO CHRIST JESUS HAVE CRUCIFIED THE FLESH WITH ITS PASSIONS AND DESIRES. IF WE LIVE BY THE SPIRIT, LET US ALSO WALK BY THE SPIRIT...AND LET US NOT GROW WEARY IN WELL-DOING, FOR IN DUE SEASON WE SHALL REAP, IF WE DO NOT LOSE HEART. SO THEN, AS WE HAVE OPPORTUNITY, LET US DO GOOD TO ALL MEN, ESPECIALLY TO THOSE WHO ARE OF THE HOUSEHOLD OF FAITH."

SEE THIS SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY REVEALED IN THE LIFE OF A MISSIONARY. HE IS PROMPTED BY THE HOLY SPIRIT TO BE CONCERNED OVER THE SALVATION AND WELL BEING OF THE PEOPLE OF A FAR OFF LAND. HE COMMITS HIMSELF TO THE DIVINE WILL AND FEELS CALLED TO BE GOD'S MESSENGER TO THAT PEOPLE. HE CONSECRATES HIMSELF, TRAINS HIMSELF AND GIVES HIMSELF TO THEIR REDEMPTION. THE TRUE MISSIONARY IS LESS CONCERNED ABOUT HIS OWN COMFORT AND SAFETY THAN HE IS WITH THE WINNING OF MEN AND WOMEN, BOYS AND GIRLS, TO THE LORD JESUS AND TO A LIFE OF COMRADESHIP WITH THE LIVING GOD. HIS HIGHEST EXALTATIONS DO NOT COME FROM MATERIAL THINGS, BUT FROM SHARING HIMSELF TO THE UTMOST AND FROM THE LOVE AND COMPANIONSHIP OF HIS FELLOWS.

LISTEN TO THIS TESTIMONY FROM ALBERT SCHWEITZER, ONE OF THE GREATST OF MISSIONARIES:

"I COULD NOT BUT FEEL WITH A SYMPATHY FULL OF REGRET ALL THE PAIN THAT I SAW AROUND ME, NOT ONLY THAT OF MEN BUT THAT OF THE WHOLE CREATION. FROM THIS COMMUNITY OF SUFFERING I HAVE NEVER TRIED TO WITHDRAW MYSELF. IT SEEMED TO ME A MATTER OF COURSE THAT WE SHOULD ALL TAKE OUR SHARE OF THE BURDEN



OF PAIN WHICH LIES UPON THE WORLD...IN MY OWN LIFE ANXIETY, TROUBLE, AND SORROW HAVE BEEN ALLOTTED TO ME AT TIMES IN SUCH ABUNDANT MEASURE THAT HAD MY NERVES NOT BEEN STRONG, I MUST HAVE BROKEN DOWN UNDER THE WEIGHT...BUT I HAVE HAD BLESSINGS TOO: THAT I AM ALLOWED TO WORK IN THE SERVICE OF MERCY; THAT MY WORK HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL; THAT I RECEIVE FROM OTHER PEOPLE AFFECTION AND KINDNESS IN ABUNDANCE; THAT I HAVE LOYAL HELPERS, WHO IDENTIFY THEMSELVES WITH MY ACTIVITY; THAT I ENJOY A HEALTH WHICH ALLOWS ME TO UNDERTAKE MOST EXHAUSTING WORK; THAT I HAVE A WELL-BALANCED TEMPERAMENT WHICH VARIES LITTLE, AND AN ENERGY WHICH EXERTS ITSELF WITH CALMNESS AND DELIBERATION; AND, FINALLY, THAT I CAN RECOGNIZE AS SUCH WHATEVER HAPPINESS FALLS TO MY LOT, ACCEPTING IT ALSO AS A THING FOR WHICH SOME THANK-OFFERING IS DUE FROM ME."

THAT IS THE WAY EVERY CHRISTIAN IS SUPPOSED TO LIVE, AS A GOOD MEMBER OF GOD'S HOME, WITH A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY, AND WITH ONE'S CUP RUNNING OVER WITH THE JOYS OF SHARING IN THE HOLY ENDEAVOR TO CREATE THE BELOVED COMMUNITY.

*This is a much more readable  
Chapter. I liked it - good illustrations,  
quotations were excellent.*



## PRAYER AND CITIZENSHIP

We are responsible for one another, but the pressure of self-interest is so impelling that we need help from God if we are to be ever mindful of the needs of others. It is easy for the mind to assent to the idea that we are members one of another and are truly our brother's keeper, but our personal appetites and ambitions tend to consume our energies and leave little vitality for mutual aid.

Prayer is the soul's sincere desire to know what is right in God's sight and to gain power to do it. This desire may be weak or it may be dominant. The purpose of all high prayer is to generate in us eagerness to say "nevertheless", nevertheless not my will but thine be done. It is the will of God that we live together as brethren in our Father's home, that we accept responsibility for our share of the task of creating the good society.

There are ways of strengthening the desire to do what God wants done. The prayer of thanksgiving is such a way. Reflect upon our indebtedness to providence, to nature and the creative processes of life. Consider the marvelous manner in which God has equipped us for life in his home in fellowship with our brethren - the miracle of thought, the driving power of emotion, the ability to distinguish and select, the gift of freedom to say yes and to say no, the power of memory to carry one back to hallowed scenes, the capacity of anticipation to project self into the future, the strength of will to translate aspiration into deed and habit. Center your thought upon indebtedness to men and women of many lands through the ages - to pioneers, laborers, scientists, musicians, poets, philosophers, prophets and saints. Be appreciate of the contribution made to your life by road builders, street cleaners, sanitary officers, firemen, mail carriers, truck drivers, teachers, authors, editors, clergymen, farmers, merchants, mayor, governor, president.

Reflect prayerfully upon the number of individuals in many lands who have brought food to your table - workers in field and plant, processors and distributors, clerks and bookkeepers, executives and bankers. And so it is with almost every article in the house. Gone are the days when the family was largely self-sustained. The spinning wheel is now a relic of other years. We supply one another with goods and services. We minister to countless people and in turn are the beneficiaries of the labor of multitudes of individuals near and far. Life is a network of numberless relationships.



Robinson Crusoe the fictional character who sustained himself in isolation, vanished long ago. For our physical existence, mental growth, spiritual health we are utterly dependent upon our fellows.

The more keenly we realize the vastness of our indebtedness, the more our spirits are mellowed by gratitude to God and to man. Thus appreciation provides God with opportunity through the open door of desire to be worthy and responsive. Citizenship would be greatly enriched if all of us would constantly count our blessings, name them over one by one, and see what God has done, and realize what our brethren are doing for us. Therefore we ought always to be praising God and demonstrating appreciativeness to people.

The prayer of confession is another way of strengthening desire to do what is right in God's sight. When we measure ourselves by the stature of Christ, we are stricken with a sense of unworthiness and are led to cry unto God for forgiveness and restoration. Thus it is wholesome to spend time frequently in examination of ourselves under the searchlight of God's presence. Holy Scripture reminds us that God knows our very thoughts before ever we express them. He sees behind all the screens that we place in front of the ugly places in the inner recesses of our lives. Let us beseech him to make clear to us wrong attitudes, unholy desires, sinful actions, that we may see ourselves as we are seen. The more vividly contrast is established between what we are and what God wants us to be, the more humble and contrite become our hearts. And great is the opportunity afforded God by a truly penitent heart.

Contrition is cement which holds together human relationships. It is one thing for a man to deal with a sinner, it is quite another matter to confront a fellow-sinner. It is not the same for me to judge you as for us to condemn ourselves. We are bound together by our virtues and by our vices. To understand the inexorable operation of the law of the harvest in a moral universe, we must realize that the sower does not do all the reaping. Here is a man who does about everything a husband and father ought not to do. Some of the harvest of his wrongdoing will be reaped by himself, but much indeed will be garnered by his wife and children and neighbors. Thus the Bible tells us that the sins of the fathers are visited on the children until the third and fourth generation. Also the good deeds of an individual continue to bless successive generations. We sow and we reap is the law of life. If this truth were constantly gripping all of us, how profound would be the change



in human relationships. Thus it is easy to see why a humble and contrite heart is so pleasing to God.

This realization opens new insights into the power of corporate confession and longing for forgiveness. In the hallowed atmosphere of the sanctuary, with all its sacred memories and associations, we bow before God as fellow-sinners, confessing our common sins in hymn and spoken prayer, yearning for cleansing and empowering. Then we make our unison commitment to newness of life in Christ by the power of God. Surely here is to be found the solution which dissolves ill will and hostility.

It is a great day in the life of a man when he realizes that nothing can separate him from the love of God, not even his worst sin. Ever does the Father grieve over the prodigal and long for his return to the family circle. Then comes the thought that no other man's sin can separate him from the affection of our Father. Love is merciful and always seeks reconciliation. Contrition is an efficacious antidote against the harshness of arrogance and the corrosiveness of intolerance. Let us therefore go often into the closet and bare our souls to our forgiving God.

The prayers of petition and intercession are ways of strengthening desire to do God's will. The extent to which an individual can help and harm other persons fills us with wonder that God trusts us with such vast power for good and evil. We can help to keep babies alive and we can leave them to perish; we can help them to become mature in mind and robust in spirit, and we can leave them dwarfed and stunted. Wonderful and fearful is human responsibility. Mystery enshrouds God's full purpose in trusting us so completely.

Intercessory prayer should be considered in this setting. We feebly apprehend the reasons why God entrusts us with the power of intercession. Our Father is wise and powerful and good, but he needs human help in countless ways. More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of, this truth remains as valid today as when the words first came from the poet's pen. In all areas of citizenship, prayer is available as a mighty support of right relations.

Secularism is pervasive. Multitudes of our people make crucial decisions about decisive questions without taking God into account. Many are the adherents of the doctrines: religion and business won't mix, keep religion out of politics, keep controversial issues out of the pulpit, let the churches



stick to the simple gospel, convert individuals and social problems will take care of themselves.

Long ago Professor Ross pointed out that there are retail sins and wholesale sins, personal sins and "sinning by syndicate." I sin and we sin. Prayer is as dynamic in dealing with social wrongdoing as with individual sinning. The will of God embraces all life. In his sight there is no distinction between the sacred and the secular. Right relationships are decisive. We are called upon to love God totally and to love people that way. But it is not easy to know precisely what is right in a complex situation. Often we call bitter sweet, and sweet bitter; frequently we mistake evil for goodness and goodness for evil; more often than we realize our very lights are deep darkness. We are victims of tradition, custom, social pressure, fear and passion. Noble intention is frequently frustrated by blindness and timidity.

Our need of God's guidance is much more urgent than we realize. We hurt other people by what we do and by what we leave undone. When our minds are illumined and our purpose is worthy, we are able to make an incalculable contribution to the wellbeing of others near and far. Thus we should pray without ceasing, desire with fervent desire, yearn with intense longing that we may know what is right and gain power from God to do it.

The practice of the presence of God is essential to the wisest exercise of the responsibilities of citizenship. We need to pray short prayers frequently and unhurried prayers often. No man has ever seen God at any time we are told in the Bible. But we are able to watch him at work, we can see the handiwork of the Creator in:

The awe-inspiring beauty of the starry firmament on a dark night.  
 The glow of the full moon over a sleeping city.  
 The indescribably blending of color from earliest dawn to the rising of the sun.  
 Sparkling jewels of dew on green leaves and red roses.  
 Snow-white clouds floating leisurely through the blue heavens.  
 The flash of forked lightning and the roll of celestial drums during a storm.  
 The patter of rain on the roof and against the windows of a happy home.  
 The harmony of colors in a rainbow through the mist.  
 The silhouette of trees through dense fog.  
 The intricate and delicate symmetry of snowflakes.  
 The sinking of a flaming ball of fire into the sea at sunset.  
 The deepening of shadows from twilight to dark.  
 The austerity and majesty of high mountains.  
 A range of hills across the desert at sunset.  
 The Grand Canyon at dawn.  
 Roll upon roll of whitecaps on the blue sea.  
 The stir of aspen leaves in the breeze.  
 An orchard of peach trees at blossomtime.



The riot of colors in a maple grove at autumntime.  
Silvery reflections on a calm lake lined with green trees.  
Crimson Glory tree-roses lining the walk up the hill to home.

As we become aware of the glories of life, we can recognize them as divine creations and turn our thoughts to God in gratitude and in commitment.

We are able to behold the Creator in the endowment he has bestowed upon his creatures. A migratory bird is a flying miracle. Consider the arctic tern, which nests near the North Pole, migrates to the South Pole, and returns to its northern home; a flight of 22,000 miles within a year, across sea and land, through sunshine and storm, day and night. If God watches the fall of every sparrow, and bestows upon the thrush the gift of lovely song, how much more does he love us one by one and shower good gifts upon us. A man becomes a better citizen as he watches God at work in countless ways.

More transforming is the practice of the presence of God as we watch him at work in other human beings. The Bible reminds us that the human body is a holy temple of God, a sacred shrine. Deep within every man is an altar where God is encountered. Every individual is precious to our Father and is equipped for communion and fellowship. Thus respect is due to one who is so invaluable to God. Rewarding is the experience of conscious recognition of persons as beloved children of God. We can practice the presence of God by looking about us wherever we are with the realization that every individual is a member of the family, a beloved kinsman, whatever his appearance or condition.

Day by day we should recognize God at work in:  
Children at play, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.  
A sleeping baby who is every breathed upon by the breath of God.  
A mother nursing her child as God yearns over his children.  
A family at the table partaking of the bounty of the Lord.  
A father teaching his son as God teaches his children.  
Parents and children radiantly singing together in the sanctuary.  
A carpenter on his way to work as our God ever works.  
A newsboy with his headlines of divorce and murder.  
A crowd on a bus and the crowds in Jerusalem for whom Jesus wept.  
A crippled child and knowledge that all of us are cripples of the spirit.  
A man across the desk with his triumphs and tragedies.  
A nearby neighbor in bereavement and sorrow.  
Newlyweds across the street with their joyous laughter.  
A family squabble across the court.  
Young girls drinking at the bar.  
A brow wrinkled with toil and grief.  
A venerable and benign woman.  
A radiant and joyous countenance.

Thus the practice of paying attention to God as we see his handiwork in the creation, in creatures and in our fellows, turns us toward him with appreciation, gratitude and eager desire to do that which is pleasing to him. We become more conscious of the bonds which bind us to our brethren, and look upon them with increased respect and concern.

All this becomes more intense as we supplement short prayers with regular periods of unhurried exposure of all our faculties to God. In silence before the Eternal we may count our blessings, confess our mistakes and sins, penitently receive God's forgiveness, make fresh commitment our lives to the doing of his will in serving our fellows. This period of sustained prayer may be found upon arising, at noontime, or before retiring, but it is essential that the Christian wait before God at some hour if he is to live worthily and carry his share of responsibility.

As we practice the presence of God, we are led into the habit of intercession, praying for others with yearning and persistence. Just as God needs help in feeding an infant and in teaching a child to read, so he has made us co-workers in the life of the spirit. As a mother prays for her son, her own life becomes more responsive to God and often she is the instrument through which her intercession is granted. And in ways that we do not fully know, prayer helps in turning another person toward God with desire, and thus provides God with opportunity to do what he has long sought to do.

Our minds are thrilled as we realize the power of prayer to change us and others, to deepen awareness of our kinship and common responsibilities, to make us conscious of our mutual need of God and of one another. Prayer is cement which holds us together as members of God's family.

Consider the significance of prayer in the exercise of the responsibilities of citizenship. Realize the importance of praying for the teachers of our children and for ourselves as citizens that we may be given guidance in planning and providing education for child, youth and adult. Reflect upon the power of publishers and editors of newspaper and make intercession for them. Remember the enormous burden resting upon public officials and pray that they may be open to wisdom and power from on high. Center thought upon criminals and especially upon youthful offenders, and seek counsel from God. Examine capital punishment in the light of God's love for every prodigal.

Think of economic life in religious terms. Pray that we may do what is right in the earning of daily bread, and in the distribution of the total proceeds of the common labor of us all. Make intercession for employer and for employee. In the mood of contrition and with heartfelt penitence, enter into earnest discussion of controversial and explosive social issues. Talk prayerfully with fellow-sinners about life-and-death questions of public policy.



Bring the hydrogen bomb into your praying. Try to view this weapon as it appears to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Look upon the Russian leaders through the eyes of our Lord and make intercession for them.

Reflect upon what corporate worship in the sanctuary does for citizenship. We come into the house of God with weaknesses and sins, seeking forgiveness and power. We bring with us problems which require solution, broken relationships which need to be mended, lonely hearts in need of comfort, shallow lives which should be deepened, self-centeredness which can be transformed into God-centeredness and people-centeredness. We are surrounded by our brethren, together we voice our praise and contrition and commitment, bow in common prayer, listen to words of comfort and illumination and challenge, and go out with new vision and greater power. All this makes vivid the tragedy of class-churches and race-churches. Too often the congregation is composed of Caucasians from the upper and middle brackets of economic income, with unskilled workers and members of other races conspicuously absent.

Good citizenship requires that the house of God be a center of worship and fellowship for all peoples, where the bonds of brotherhood are forged and where the realization of mutual responsibility is deepened. Prayer is the solid foundation upon which Christian citizenship rests. We are members of the one household of God, with common needs and mutual responsibilities. Every man we meet is a fellow-sinner with latent power to become a good member of God's home. We are his keeper and he is our keeper, and all of us are standing in the need of prayer.

The Christian citizen is called upon to live his entire life consciously under the eyes of God, with dominant desire to know what his Father wants him to do, with petition for power to do what is right, and with continuing intercession for his brother.

## PRAYER AND CITIZENSHIP

We are responsible for one another, but the pressure of self-interest is so impelling that we need help from God if we are to be ever mindful of the needs of others. It is easy for the mind to assent to the idea that we are members one of another and are truly our brother's keeper, but our personal appetites and ambitions tend to consume our energies and leave little vitality for mutual aid.

Prayer is the soul's sincere desire to know what is right in God's sight and to gain power to do it. This desire may be weak or it may be dominant. The purpose of all high prayer is to generate in us eagerness to say "nevertheless", nevertheless not my will but thine be done. It is the will of God that we live together as brethren in our Father's home, that we accept responsibility for our share of the task of creating the good society.

There are ways of strengthening the desire to do what God wants done. The prayer of thanksgiving is such a way. Reflect upon our indebtedness to providence, to nature and the creative processes of life. Consider the marvelous manner in which God has equipped us for life in his home in fellowship with our brethren — the miracle of thought, the driving power of emotion, the ability to distinguish and select, the gift of freedom to say yes and to say no, the power of memory to carry one back to hallowed scenes, the capacity of anticipation to project self into the future, the strength of will to translate aspiration into deed and habit. Center your thought upon indebtedness to men and women of many lands through the ages — to pioneers, laborers, scientists, musicians, poets, philosophers, prophets and saints. Be appreciate of the contribution made to your life by road builders, street cleaners, sanitary officers, firemen, mail carriers, truck drivers, teachers, authors, editors, clergymen, farmers, merchants, mayor, governor, president.

Reflect prayerfully upon the number of individuals in many lands who have brought food to your table — workers in field and plant, processors and distributors, clerks and bookkeepers, executives and bankers. And so it is with almost every article in the house. Gone are the days when the family was largely self-sustained. The spinning wheel is now a relic of other years. We supply one another with goods and services. We minister to countless people and in turn are the beneficiaries of the labor of multitudes of individuals near and far. Life is a network of numberless relationships.



Robinson Crusoe the fictional character who sustained himself in isolation, vanished long ago. For our physical existence, mental growth, spiritual health we are utterly dependent upon our fellows.

The more keenly we realize the vastness of our indebtedness, the more our spirits are mellowed by gratitude to God and to man. Thus appreciation provides God with opportunity through the open door of desire to be worthy and responsive. Citizenship would be greatly enriched if all of us would constantly count our blessings, name them over one by one, and see what God has done, and realize what our brethren are doing for us. Therefore we ought always to be praising God and demonstrating appreciativeness to people.

The prayer of confession is another way of strengthening desire to do what is right in God's sight. When we measure ourselves by the stature of Christ, we are stricken with a sense of unworthiness and are led to cry unto God for forgiveness and restoration. Thus it is wholesome to spend time frequently in examination of ourselves under the searchlight of God's presence. Holy Scripture reminds us that God knows our very thoughts before ever we express them. He sees behind all the screens that we place in front of the ugly places in the inner recesses of our lives. Let us beseech him to make clear to us wrong attitudes, unholy desires, sinful actions, that we may see ourselves as we are seen. The more vividly contrast is established between what we are and what God wants us to be, the more humble and contrite become our hearts. And great is the opportunity afforded God by a truly penitent heart.

Contrition is cement which holds together human relationships. It is one thing for a man to deal with a sinner, it is quite another matter to confront a fellow-sinner. It is not the same for me to judge you as for us to condemn ourselves. We are bound together by our virtues and by our vices. To understand the inexorable operation of the law of the harvest in a moral universe, we must realize that the sower does not do all the reaping. Here is a man who does about everything a husband and father ought not to do. Some of the harvest of his wrongdoing will be reaped by himself, but much indeed will be garnered by his wife and children and neighbors. Thus the Bible tells us that the sins of the fathers are visited on the children until the third and fourth generation. Also the good deeds of an individual continue to bless successive generations. We sow and we reap is the law of life. If this truth were constantly gripping all of us, how profound would be the change

in human relationships. Thus it is easy to see why a humble and contrite heart is so pleasing to God.

This realization opens new insights into the power of corporate confession and longing for forgiveness. In the hallowed atmosphere of the sanctuary, with all its sacred memories and associations, we bow before God as fellow-sinners, confessing our common sins in hymn and spoken prayer, yearning for cleansing and empowering. Then we make our unison commitment to newness of life in Christ by the power of God. Surely here is to be found the solution which dissolves ill will and hostility.

It is a great day in the life of a man when he realizes that nothing can separate him from the love of God, not even his worst sin. Ever does the Father grieve over the prodigal and long for his return to the family circle. Then comes the thought that no other man's sin can separate him from the affection of our Father. Love is merciful and always seeks reconciliation. Contrition is an efficacious antidote against the harshness of arrogance and the corrosiveness of intolerance. Let us therefore go often into the closet and bare our souls to our forgiving God.

The prayers of petition and intercession are ways of strengthening desire to do God's will. The extent to which an individual can help and harm other persons fills us with wonder that God trusts us with such vast power for good and evil. We can help to keep babies alive and we can leave them to perish; we can help them to become mature in mind and robust in spirit, and we can leave them dwarfed and stunted. Wonderful and fearful is human responsibility. Mystery enshrouds God's full purpose in trusting us so completely.

Intercessory prayer should be considered in this setting. We feebly apprehend the reasons why God entrusts us with the power of intercession. Our Father is wise and powerful and good, but he needs human help in countless ways. More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of, this truth remains as valid today as when the words first came from the poet's pen. In all areas of citizenship, prayer is available as a mighty support of right relations.

Secularism is pervasive. Multitudes of our people make crucial decisions about decisive questions without taking God into account. Many are the adherents of the doctrines: religion and business won't mix, keep religion out of politics, keep controversial issues out of the pulpit, let the churches



stick to the simple gospel, convert individuals and social problems will take care of themselves.

Long ago Professor Ross pointed out that there are retail sins and wholesale sins, personal sins and "sinning by syndicate." I sin and we sin. Prayer is as dynamic in dealing with social wrongdoing as with individual sinning. The will of God embraces all life. In his sight there is no distinction between the sacred and the secular. Right relationships are decisive. We are called upon to love God totally and to love people that way. But it is not easy to know precisely what is right in a complex situation. Often we call bitter sweet, and sweet bitter; frequently we mistake evil for goodness and goodness for evil; more often than we realize our very lights are deep darkness. We are victims of tradition, custom, social pressure, fear and passion. Noble intention is frequently frustrated by blindness and timidity.

Our need of God's guidance is much more urgent than we realize. We hurt other people by what we do and by what we leave undone. When our minds are illumined and our purpose is worthy, we are able to make an incalculable contribution to the wellbeing of others near and far. Thus we should pray without ceasing, desire with fervent desire, yearn with intense longing that we may know what is right and gain power from God to do it.

The practice of the presence of God is essential to the wisest exercise of the responsibilities of citizenship. We need to pray short prayers frequently and unhurried prayers often. No man has ever seen God at any time we are told in the Bible. But we are able to watch him at work, we can see the handiwork of the Creator in:

The awe-inspiring beauty of the starry firmament on a dark night.  
 The glow of the full moon over a sleeping city.  
 The indescribably blending of color from earliest dawn to the rising of the sun.  
 Sparkling jewels of dew on green leaves and red roses.  
 Snow-white clouds floating leisurely through the blue heavens.  
 The flash of forked lightning and the roll of celestial drums during a storm.  
 The patter of rain on the roof and against the windows of a happy home.  
 The harmony of colors in a rainbow through the mist.  
 The silhouette of trees through dense fog.  
 The intricate and delicate symmetry of snowflakes.  
 The sinking of a flaming ball of fire into the sea at sunset.  
 The deepening of shadows from twilight to dark.  
 The austerity and majesty of high mountains.  
 A range of hills across the desert at sunset.  
 The Grand Canyon at dawn.  
 Roll upon roll of whitecaps on the blue sea.  
 The stir of aspen leaves in the breeze.  
 An orchard of peach trees at blossomtime.



The riot of colors in a maple grove at autumntime.  
Silvery reflections on a calm lake lined with green trees.  
Crimson Glory tree-roses lining the walk up the hill to home.

As we become aware of the glories of life, we can recognize them as divine creations and turn our thoughts to God in gratitude and in commitment.

We are able to behold the Creator in the endowment he has bestowed upon his creatures. A migratory bird is a flying miracle. Consider the arctic tern, which nests near the North Pole, migrates to the South Pole, and returns to its northern home; a flight of 22,000 miles within a year, across sea and land, through sunshine and storm, day and night. If God watches the fall of every sparrow, and bestows upon the thrush the gift of lovely song, how much more does he love us one by one and shower good gifts upon us. A man becomes a better citizen as he watches God at work in countless ways.

More transforming is the practice of the presence of God as we watch him at work in other human beings. The Bible reminds us that the human body is a holy temple of God, a sacred shrine. Deep within every man is an altar where God is encountered. Every individual is precious to our Father and is equipped for communion and fellowship. Thus respect is due to one who is so invaluable to God. Rewarding is the experience of conscious recognition of persons as beloved children of God. We can practice the presence of God by looking about us wherever we are with the realization that every individual is a member of the family, a beloved kinsman, whatever his appearance or condition.

Day by day we should recognize God at work in:  
Children at play, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.  
A sleeping baby who is every breathed upon by the breath of God.  
A mother nursing her child as God yearns over his children.  
A family at the table partaking of the bounty of the Lord.  
A father teaching his son as God teaches his children.  
Parents and children radiantly singing together in the sanctuary.  
A carpenter on his way to work as our God ever works.  
A newsboy with his headlines of divorce and murder.  
A crowd on a bus and the crowds in Jerusalem for whom Jesus wept.  
A crippled child and knowledge that all of us are cripples of the spirit.  
A man across the desk with his triumphs and tragedies.  
A nearby neighbor in bereavement and sorrow.  
Newlyweds across the street with their joyous laughter.  
A family squabble across the court.  
Young girls drinking at the bar.  
A brow wrinkled with toil and grief.  
A venerable and benign woman.  
A radiant and joyous countenance.

Thus the practice of paying attention to God as we see his handiwork in the creation, in creatures and in our fellows, turns us toward him with appreciation, gratitude and eager desire to do that which is pleasing to him. We become more conscious of the bonds which bind us to our brethren, and look upon them with increased respect and concern.



All this becomes more intense as we supplement short prayers with regular periods of unhurried exposure of all our faculties to God. In silence before the Eternal we may count our blessings, confess our mistakes and sins, penitently receive God's forgiveness, make fresh commitment our lives to the doing of his will in serving our fellows. This period of sustained prayer may be found upon arising, at noontime, or before retiring, but it is essential that the Christian wait before God at some hour if he is to live worthily and carry his share of responsibility.

As we practice the presence of God, we are led into the habit of intercession, praying for others with yearning and persistence. Just as God needs help in feeding an infant and in teaching a child to read, so he has made us co-workers in the life of the spirit. As a mother prays for her son, her own life becomes more responsive to God and often she is the instrument through which her intercession is granted. And in ways that we do not fully know, prayer helps in turning another person toward God with desire, and thus provides God with opportunity to do what he has long sought to do.

Our minds are thrilled as we realize the power of prayer to change us and others, to deepen awareness of our kinship and common responsibilities, to make us conscious of our mutual need of God and of one another. Prayer is cement which holds us together as members of God's family.

Consider the significance of prayer in the exercise of the responsibilities of citizenship. Realize the importance of praying for the teachers of our children and for ourselves as citizens that we may be given guidance in planning and providing education for child, youth and adult. Reflect upon the power of publishers and editors of newspaper and make intercession for them. Remember the enormous burden resting upon public officials and pray that they may be open to wisdom and power from on high. Center thought upon criminals and especially upon youthful offenders, and seek counsel from God. Examine capital punishment in the light of God's love for every prodigal.

Think of economic life in religious terms. Pray that we may do what is right in the earning of daily bread, and in the distribution of the total proceeds of the common labor of us all. Make intercession for employer and for employee. In the mood of contrition and with heartfelt penitence, enter into earnest discussion of controversial and explosive social issues. Talk prayerfully with fellow-sinners about life-and-death questions of public policy.

the  
appre  
We be  
upon

Bring the hydrogen bomb into your praying. Try to view this weapon as it appears to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Look upon the Russian leaders through the eyes of our Lord and make intercession for them.

Reflect upon what corporate worship in the sanctuary does for citizenship. We come into the house of God with weaknesses and sins, seeking forgiveness and power. We bring with us problems which require solution, broken relationships which need to be mended, lonely hearts in need of comfort, shallow lives which should be deepened, self-centeredness which can be transformed into God-centeredness and people-centeredness. We are surrounded by our brethren, together we voice our praise and contrition and commitment, bow in common prayer, listen to words of comfort and illumination and challenge, and go out with new vision and greater power. All this makes vivid the tragedy of class-churches and race-churches. Too often the congregation is composed of Caucasians from the upper and middle brackets of economic income, with unskilled workers and members of other races conspicuously absent.

Good citizenship requires that the house of God be a center of worship and fellowship for all peoples, where the bonds of brotherhood are forged and where the realization of mutual responsibility is deepened. Prayer is the solid foundation upon which Christian citizenship rests. We are members of the one household of God, with common needs and mutual responsibilities. Every man we meet is a fellow-sinner with latent power to become a good member of God's home. We are his keeper and he is our keeper, and all of us are standing in the need of prayer.

The Christian citizen is called upon to live his entire life consciously under the eyes of God, with dominant desire to know what his Father wants him to do, with petition for power to do what is right, and with continuing intercession for his brother.

*Good. Sounds like  
Kirby Page.*



# HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE FOR THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN

We Americans glory in our democracy and are determined to preserve it. We realize that we do not yet possess complete equality of opportunity, but we are proud of the progress already achieved. It will help us in bringing fuller life to all our people if we will climb to a high point of vantage and gain perspective by looking back over the record of successive steps taken by our fathers.

The men who governed the American colonies believed in the divine right of kings, the divine authority of rulers, the duty of subjects to obey laws rather than to make them. Monarchy and aristocracy were looked upon as God's own arrangement, while democracy and popular government were viewed with abhorrence and opposed with vigor. "Democracy, I do not conceive that ever God did ordain as a fitt government eyther for church or commonwealth. If the people be governors, who shall be governed? As for monarchy, and aristocracy, they are both of them clearely approoved, and directed in scripture." These are the words of John Cotton, the famous and influential ecclesiastical leader, but they merely voiced the prevailing attitude.

The Revolutionary War was not a conflict against monarchy and aristocracy. It began as an effort to remove grievances, and at the outset few of the leaders advocated separation from the mother country. American men of property and standing rebelled against tyranny from London, but they were far indeed from welcoming democracy and popular government. At first the revolutionary committees were controlled by the merchants and professional men, and deep was their resentment when "nobodies" and "unimportant persons" began to participate in the making of decisions. Governor Wright in Savannah declared that "the Parochial Committees are a Parcel of the Lowest People, Chiefly Carpenters, Shoemakers, Blacksmiths, etc..." In Charleston a minister said from the pulpit that "mechanics and country clowns had no right to dispute about politics, or what kings, lords and commons had done." Many members of the privileged class shared the feelings of Henry Laurens, who wept when he listened to the reading of the Declaration of Independence. Gouverneur Morris complained that "the heads of the mobility grow dangerous to the gentry, and how to keep them down in the question." Even John Wesley was opposed to the revolution and wrote to Methodists in the colonies: "You are the descendants of men who either had not votes or resigned them by

migration. You have therefore exactly what your ancestors left you, not a vote in making laws or in choosing legislators but the happiness of being protected by laws and the duty of obeying them."

After American independence was achieved, merchants, landowners, lawyers, doctors, professors, clergymen in substantial proportion feared democracy and organized a system of checks and balances to delay the accomplishment of the popular will, restricting the vote to a small percentage of the adult male population. In 1790 only one white man out of ten in New York could vote. The delegates to the various state conventions called to consider the ratification of the constitution were elected by only 160,000 voters, and only five-eighths of the delegates favored ratification. In 1820 nine of the twenty-four states retained property qualifications for voting. Until 1850 landowners alone voted in Virginia, and not until 1856 was this restriction abandoned in North Carolina. It was actually 1928 before Rhode Island abolished the last sign of a property test for voting in cities.

Of course, slaves were not given the franchise, and except during the period of armed occupation of the South following the Civil War, Negroes were not permitted to vote in many states for more than a century after the ratification of the Constitution, except in rare instances.

In the early colonies "unbelievers" were excluded from the franchise in various sections at different times - agnostics, atheists, Unitarians, Roman Catholics, and Jews. In 1740 the Christian ceremony was dispensed with for "such who profess the Jewish religion." In some of the colonies Jews were denied the right to hold office. After independence was gained, the various states removed minor disabilities against Jews, North Carolina acting as late as 1868. In most of the colonies Catholics were subjected to discrimination. In New York, priests were banished and Catholics deprived of the right to vote. In Virginia, Catholics were not permitted to testify in the courts. All legal limitations upon Catholics were removed by Rhode Island in 1783, and by the last state, New Hampshire, a century later in 1877. And to this day a vociferous minority among us would impose legal restrictions upon Negroes, Catholics and Jews if they had the power. The idea of democracy is not yet fully understood and accepted in this land.

As late as 1895 only Wyoming and Colorado granted women the right to vote, and the Nineteenth Amendment giving women equal voting rights with men was not adopted until 1920, a long time indeed after the signing of the



Declaration of Independence. As a matter of fact, in 1871 Susan B. Anthony was called a communist because she advocated equal rights for women. Here is what an editor in Seattle said about her: "She is a revolutionist, aiming at nothing less than the breaking up of the very foundations of society, and the overthrow of every social institution organized for the protection of the sanctity of the altar, the family circle and the legitimacy of our offspring, recognizing no religion but self-worship, no God but human reason, no motive to action but lust... The whole plan is coarse, sensual and agrarian, the worst phase of French infidelity and communism." All across the land for many decades, suffragists were derided, vilified and subjected to physical violence. A great price had to be paid for women's right to vote, and this in a land that gloried in its democracy.

The record of relationships between white men and Indians is one of almost unrelieved tragedy, with here and there a story of harmonious adjustment. For seventy-five years the Quakers of Pennsylvania remained at peace with the Indians, and not a single Quaker was killed by the Indians in that period. Even with the best possible attitudes, relationships would have proved difficult because of contrasts in culture and differences in scales of values. These primitive men, who lived chiefly by hunting, fishing and trapping, were in control of land needed and wanted by the white settlers. Encroachments upon their land, the threat to their way of life, created the fear and passion which led the red man to strike back, often with cruelty and sometimes with unlimited ferocity. The consequent dangers to which white women and children were exposed, hardened the hearts and steeled the determination of their men to drive out the "savages." Long afterward General Sheridan was to phrase the prevailing attitude, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian."

So the white man settled down to the long-continued process of taking possession of the Indian's land, by purchase, debauchery with whiskey, deceit, violated agreements and broken treaties, violence and war. In 1837 all Indians west of the Mississippi were settled in the "Permanent Indian Country," where, by treaty, they were not to be molested "as long as grass shall grow and water run." Apparently these processes of nature ceased to function, because in the 1850's the Indians were again moved deeper into the southwest, to lands which were regarded by the white man as almost worthless.

In his message to Congress in 1877, President Hayes confessed, "Many, if not most, of our Indian wars have had their origin in broken promises and acts of injustice on our part." A record of this sordid business is printed in A Century of Dishonor, by Helen Jackson, published in 1886. In a preface to this volume, Bishop Whipple wrote: "The materials of her book have been taken from official documents. The sad revelation of broken faith, of violated treaties, and of inhuman deeds of violence will bring a flush of shame to the cheeks of those who love their country." And since 1886 there has been many a spot and blemish on the white man's record of dealings with the red man in this nation. Not until 1924 were all Indians born in the United States declared to be citizens, and as late as 1940 seven states barred Indians from voting.

And as this little book is being written, an effort is being made to enact legislation which will make it easier to deprive Indians of valuable oil lands which they now hold. The record reveals that we have believed in democracy for everybody - except! It is far from a waste of time to read history, to remind ourselves of the frequent reflections of blindness and self-interest in our father's attitude toward democracy. Our Founding Fathers simply did not believe in government by all the people. They feared it so deeply that they tried in many ways to prevent its coming. As long as they were able, they restricted severely the right to vote and to hold office. The Federal Government was devised as a system of checks and balances to hamper and delay the achievement of the popular will. White men without property were long excluded, as were Indians, indentured servants, slaves, and women. Government was looked upon as a monopoly in the hands of those who wielded economic power and possessed social standing. Men of property and power used government to advance their own interests, and sought to prevent its use by all the people in advancing their own welfare.

Long and bitter has been the opposition to the extension of public privileges. The roll call is impressive: hostility toward the use of taxation to support public schools, toward the organization of national labor unions, the abolition of child labor, votes for women, the regulation of working hours, the establishment of the minimum wage, workmen's compensation, housing regulations, pure food laws, the interstate commerce commission, postal savings banks, parcel post, income and inheritance taxes, unemployment insurance.



The high desirability of these measures is now generally recognized. Yet, one by one, they were long opposed as radical innovations which threatened to undermine the stability of the social order. Successively they were labeled socialistic, un-American, subversive. Truly, the advances of democracy have been made in spite of powerful and persistent opposition. Government by the people has been feared, assailed and fought with ruthlessness.

We Americans may well glory in our democracy, in the many steps taken toward effective popular government. The gains are numerous and substantial. In all history the common people have never possessed so much political power as they now wield in this land, nor enjoyed such high degree of economic wellbeing. The victories of the past, won in the face of unrelenting opposition, should undergird our faith that yet more impressive steps toward complete democracy may be taken. And in this effort, heavy indeed is the responsibility resting upon the Christian citizen.

4  
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE FOR THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN

We Americans glory in our democracy and are determined to preserve it. We realize that we do not yet possess complete equality of opportunity, but we are proud of the progress already achieved. It will help us in bringing fuller life to all our people if we will climb to a high point of vantage and gain perspective by looking back over the record of successive steps taken by our fathers.

The men who governed the American colonies believed in the divine right of kings, the divine authority of rulers, the duty of subjects to obey laws rather than to make them. Monarchy and aristocracy were looked upon as God's own arrangement, while democracy and popular government were viewed with abhorrence and opposed with vigor. "Democracy, I do not conceive that ever God did ordain as a fitt government eyther for church or commonwealth. If the people be governors, who shall be governed? As for monarchy, and aristocracy, they are both of them clearely approved, and directed in scripture." These are the words of John Cotton, the famous and influential ecclesiastical leader, but they merely voiced the prevailing attitude.

The Revolutionary War was not a conflict against monarchy and aristocracy. It began as an effort to remove grievances, and at the outset few of the leaders advocated separation from the mother country. American men of property and standing rebelled against tyranny from London, but they were far indeed from welcoming democracy and popular government. At first the revolutionary committees were controlled by the merchants and professional men, and deep was their resentment when "nobodies" and "unimportant persons" began to participate in the making of decisions. Governor Wright in Savannah declared that "the Parochial Committees are a Parcel of the Lowest People, Chiefly Carpenters, Shoemakers, Blacksmiths, etc..." In Charleston a minister said from the pulpit that "mechanics and country clowns had no right to dispute about politics, or what kings, lords and commons had done." Many members of the privileged class shared the feelings of Henry Laurens, who wept when he listened to the reading of the Declaration of Independence. Gouverneur Morris complained that "the heads of the mobility grow dangerous to the gentry, and how to keep them down in the question." Even John Wesley was opposed to the revolution and wrote to Methodists in the colonies: "You are the descendants of men who either had not votes or resigned them by



migration. You have therefore exactly what your ancestors left you, not a vote in making laws or in choosing legislators but the happiness of being protected by laws and the duty of obeying them."

After American independence was achieved, merchants, landowners, lawyers, doctors, professors, clergymen in substantial proportion feared democracy and organized a system of checks and balances to delay the accomplishment of the popular will, restricting the vote to a small percentage of the adult male population. In 1790 only one white man out of ten in New York could vote. The delegates to the various state conventions called to consider the ratification of the constitution were elected by only 160,000 voters, and only five-eighths of the delegates favored ratification. In 1820 nine of the twenty-four states retained property qualifications for voting. Until 1850 landowners alone voted in Virginia, and not until 1856 was this restriction abandoned in North Carolina. It was actually 1928 before Rhode Island abolished the last sign of a property test for voting in cities.

Of course, slaves were not given the franchise, and except during the period of armed occupation of the South following the Civil War, Negroes were not permitted to vote in many states for more than a century after the ratification of the Constitution, except in rare instances.

In the early colonies "unbelievers" were excluded from the franchise in various sections at different times - agnostics, atheists, Unitarians, Roman Catholics, and Jews. In 1740 the Christian ceremony was dispensed with for "such who profess the Jewish religion." In some of the colonies Jews were denied the right to hold office. After independence was gained, the various states removed minor disabilities against Jews, North Carolina acting as late as 1868. In most of the colonies Catholics were subjected to discrimination. In New York, priests were banished and Catholics deprived of the right to vote. In Virginia, Catholics were not permitted to testify in the courts. All legal limitations upon Catholics were removed by Rhode Island in 1783, and by the last state, New Hampshire, a century later in 1877. And to this day a vociferous minority among us would impose legal restrictions upon Negroes, Catholics and Jews if they had the power. The idea of democracy is not yet fully understood and accepted in this land.

As late as 1895 only Wyoming and Colorado granted women the right to vote, and the Nineteenth Amendment giving women equal voting rights with men was not adopted until 1920, a long time indeed after the signing of the

Declaration of Independence. As a matter of fact, in 1871 Susan B. Anthony was called a communist because she advocated equal rights for women. Here is what an editor in Seattle said about her: "She is a revolutionist, aiming at nothing less than the breaking up of the very foundations of society, and the overthrow of every social institution organized for the protection of the sanctity of the altar, the family circle and the legitimacy of our offspring, recognizing no religion but self-worship, no God but human reason, no motive to action but lust... The whole plan is coarse, sensual and agrarian, the worst phase of French infidelity and communism." All across the land for many decades, suffragists were derided, vilified and subjected to physical violence. A great price had to be paid for women's right to vote, and this in a land that gloried in its democracy.

The record of relationships between white men and Indians is one of almost unrelieved tragedy, with here and there a story of harmonious adjustment. For seventy-five years the Quakers of Pennsylvania remained at peace with the Indians, and not a single Quaker was killed by the Indians in that period. Even with the best possible attitudes, relationships would have proved difficult because of contrasts in culture and differences in scales of values. These primitive men, who lived chiefly by hunting, fishing and trapping, were in control of land needed and wanted by the white settlers. Encroachments upon their land, the threat to their way of life, created the fear and passion which led the red man to strike back, often with cruelty and sometimes with unlimited ferocity. The consequent dangers to which white women and children were exposed, hardened the hearts and steeled the determination of their men to drive out the "savages." Long afterward General Sheridan was to phrase the prevailing attitude, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian."

So the white man settled down to the long-continued process of taking possession of the Indian's land, by purchase, debauchery with whiskey, deceit, violated agreements and broken treaties, violence and war. In 1837 all Indians west of the Mississippi were settled in the "Permanent Indian Country," where, by treaty, they were not to be molested "as long as grass shall grow and water run." Apparently these processes of nature ceased to function, because in the 1850's the Indians were again moved deeper into the southwest, to lands which were regarded by the white man as almost worthless.



In his message to Congress in 1877, President Hayes confessed, "Many, if not most, of our Indian wars have had their origin in broken promises and acts of injustice on our part." A record of this sordid business is printed in A Century of Dishonor, by Helen Jackson, published in 1886. In a preface to this volume, Bishop Whipple wrote: "The materials of her book have been taken from official documents. The sad revelation of broken faith, of violated treaties, and of inhuman deeds of violence will bring a flush of shame to the cheeks of those who love their country." And since 1886 there has been many a spot and blemish on the white man's record of dealings with the red man in this nation. Not until 1924 were all Indians born in the United States declared to be citizens, and as late as 1940 seven states barred Indians from voting.

And as this little book is being written, an effort is being made to enact legislation which will make it easier to deprive Indians of valuable oil lands which they now hold. The record reveals that we have believed in democracy for everybody - except! It is far from a waste of time to read history, to remind ourselves of the frequent reflections of blindness and self-interest in our father's attitude toward democracy. Our Founding Fathers simply did not believe in government by all the people. They feared it so deeply that they tried in many ways to prevent its coming. As long as they were able, they restricted severely the right to vote and to hold office. The Federal Government was devised as a system of checks and balances to hamper and delay the achievement of the popular will. White men without property were long excluded, as were Indians, indentured servants, slaves, and women. Government was looked upon as a monopoly in the hands of those who wielded economic power and possessed social standing. Men of property and power used government to advance their own interests, and sought to prevent its use by all the people in advancing their own welfare.

Long and bitter has been the opposition to the extension of public privileges. The roll call is impressive: hostility toward the use of taxation to support public schools, toward the organization of national labor unions, the abolition of child labor, votes for women, the regulation of working hours, the establishment of the minimum wage, workmen's compensation, housing regulations, pure food laws, the interstate commerce commission, postal savings banks, parcel post, income and inheritance taxes, unemployment insurance.

The high desirability of these measures is now generally recognized. Yet, one by one, they were long opposed as radical innovations which threatened to undermine the stability of the social order. Successively they were labeled socialistic, un-American, subversive. Truly, the advances of democracy have been made in spite of powerful and persistent opposition. Government by the people has been feared, assailed and fought with ruthlessness.

We Americans may well glory in our democracy, in the many steps taken toward effective popular government. The gains are numerous and substantial. In all history the common people have never possessed so much political power as they now wield in this land, nor enjoyed such high degree of economic wellbeing. The victories of the past, won in the face of unrelenting opposition, should undergird our faith that yet more impressive steps toward complete democracy may be taken. And in this effort, heavy indeed is the responsibility resting upon the Christian citizen.

*This is good practical  
Christianity.*



## THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN AND PUBLIC EDUCATION

Many of the problems now facing American citizens are seen in clearer perspective when we study the history of the public school in this land.

For a long period the idea of using taxation as a means of financing the education of our children was looked upon as an undesirable and dangerous innovation. The old idea was that a child was entitled to as much education as his parents could afford, which meant in practice that usually only the children of the middle and upper classes went to school. The exceptions were that pauper children were sometimes sent to charity schools, and that churches sometimes provided education. In a day when education for even the prosperous was severely limited, it is not surprising that the mass of boys and girls, especially girls, received little formal education.

Then thoughtful men began to say, the community cannot afford to let children grow up without a good education, the results are too disastrous. The principle that "I must educate my child" began to be questioned, and in its place came the new idea, "we must educate our children". A child is entitled to as good an education as the people of the entire community can afford, so experiments began with taxation as a source of funds for public education.

Seventy-five years were required before the new idea was accepted generally as the basis of schools throughout the nation. A competent historian says that, with the exception of the abolition of slavery (and the elimination of segregation), no reform in American history was accomplished in the face of more bitter and prolonged resistance than was the establishment of our public school system. Fifteen arguments were used against tax-supported public schools, including these: impractical, visionary and too far ahead of the times; would make education too common and educate people out of their class in society; would not benefit the masses, who are already as well cared for as they deserve; would tend to break down desirable social barriers; would injure private and parochial schools; state schools might obstruct church progress and welfare; the state has no right to interfere with parents' education of their children; it is unjust to tax bachelors for the education of other people's children; taking a man's property to educate his neighbor's children is no more defensible than taking a man's plow to plow his neighbor's field; it is unfair to tax the industrious to educate the indolent; education is for the leisure class, and the poor have no leisure.

Half a century after the Declaration of Independence, with the exception of certain portions of New England, free public schools "were the distant hope of statesmen and reformers." As late as 1840 only one-half of the children of New England were given free education, one-seventh of those in the Middle States, and one-sixth of those in the West.

Even when the desirability of universal education was conceded, numerous devices were utilized to avoid taxation for public schools. Connecticut once turned over all proceeds from liquor licenses to the towns for the support of schools. New Orleans licensed two theaters on condition that they each pay three thousand dollars annually for the support of schools. Lotteries for the maintenance of schools were used in New York, Kentucky, Delaware, North Carolina, Mississippi, Michigan, Louisiana, Maryland, and in many cities. As late as 1836 Congress passed the last of fourteen bills authorizing lotteries to help provide for public education in the city of Washington. Forty-five per cent of the voters of Indiana in 1849 opposed tax-supported schools. In the 1840's a member of the Rhode Island legislature declared that a bill to provide a small tax for schools, if passed, could not be enforced, even at the point of a bayonet. That taxation for public schools was confiscation seemed obvious to many voters. A legislator in Indiana had carved on his tombstone, "Here lies an enemy of free schools," because he did not want posterity to blame him for the disasters which would follow in the train of public education!

The expansion of public education has been achieved in the face of continuing opposition to the lengthening of the school year, the training of teachers at public expense, the payment of adequate salaries to teachers, free text-books, free school-lunches for the undernourished, kindergarten and nurseries, recreational facilities and free use of athletic equipment, musical training and the free use of band and orchestral instruments, free night classes, graduate and professional courses, and other departments of public education now taken for granted. Surely we have traveled a long distance from the day when taxation for public education was opposed as confiscation of private property.

The theory is now generally accepted, but practice lags far behind in providing an adequate education for children, youth and adults. We still hate to pay the bills. The per capita income, in real purchasing power, has never been so high among any substantial population in all history as is now enjoyed.



by the people of the United States. We have the means and are providing public education on a scale which seems fabulous when contrasted with the past and with similar expenditures in other lands. Yet inadequate salaries for teachers and a tragic shortage of class-room facilities are dooming large numbers of our children to inferior education. The Federal Office of Education recently estimated that nine millions of our children are taught in obsolete or fire-trap buildings or are getting only part-time schooling."

We have the money needed for adequate public education, and are spending vast sums upon liquor, tobacco, cosmetics, amusements, sports, and countless other luxuries, not to mention the billions being spent upon the armed forces of the nation. We cannot say that national poverty prevents the needed expansion of public education.

The Christian citizen has responsibility for helping to create right attitudes toward the public schools. High on the national list of priorities should come funds for adequate public education from nursery to graduate institution. Economies should be made elsewhere than in reducing the quality of our teaching. The entire life of the nation is enriched by proper instruction, and is cursed by the neglect of our children's education.

We should emphasize the fact that the American people have never been willing to grant a monopoly to public education. We have always insisted that parents do not need to send their children to public schools if they will provide education which equals the public standard. So we have always maintained private schools, church schools, and numerous other types. Two requirements are insisted upon: the child must be sent to school, and the quality of instruction must not be lower than the state standard. This is so plainly a wise decision that we have no inclination to change it.

The history of the public school in America should remind us of the powerful tendency to resist new ideas, especially when measures for the public good increase the burden on tax-payers. As a matter of fact, the money we spend on public education pays more generous dividends in the wellbeing of our homes and communities than almost any other form of expenditure. If we provided education through private channels, the benefits would be denied to a substantial proportion of children and the cost per capita of the number receiving education would be increased enormously. Educating our children with funds we provide through taxation is much cheaper and far more satisfactory than for

families to employ private teachers or to send their children to schools supported by private funds. Grumbling about school taxes is a self-centered emotional reponse rather than a rational judgment about national welfare.

The Christian citizen does well to turn to his religious convictions for guidance about education. All of us are members of the one household of God, all are brethren in a common home. We are members one of another and are our brother's keeper. Self-centeredness is shifting sand as a foundation for the good society. God-centeredness and people-centeredness require that all children be provided with the opportunities of a good education and that we pay the bills.

In equalizing the burden, we are utilizing the device of the graduated income tax for a substantial proportion of public funds - richer citizens are contributing more than their per capita share of the cost of educating our children, state governments are sharing the tax proceeds from richer counties with the children of less prosperous counties, and the Federal Government is sharing equitably the proceeds of national taxation with the children of states where the income is lower than the average. This is equity based upon the idea that we are members one of another and must assume mutual responsibility for the common welfare. That the strong should bear the burdens of the weak is good family practice and sound Christian doctrine.



## THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN AND PUBLIC EDUCATION

Many of the problems now facing American citizens are seen in clearer perspective when we study the history of the public school in this land.

For a long period the idea of using taxation as a means of financing the education of our children was looked upon as an undesirable and dangerous innovation. The old idea was that a child was entitled to as much education as his parents could afford, which meant in practice that usually only the children of the middle and upper classes went to school. The exceptions were that pauper children were sometimes sent to charity schools, and that churches sometimes provided education. In a day when education for even the prosperous was severely limited, it is not surprising that the mass of boys and girls, especially girls, received little formal education.

Then thoughtful men began to say, the community cannot afford to let children grow up without a good education, the results are too disastrous. The principle that "I must educate my child" began to be questioned, and in its place came the new idea, "we must educate our children". A child is entitled to as good an education as the people of the entire community can afford, so experiments began with taxation as a source of funds for public education.

Seventy-five years were required before the new idea was accepted generally as the basis of schools throughout the nation. A competent historian says that, with the exception of the abolition of slavery (and the elimination of segregation), no reform in American history was accomplished in the face of more bitter and prolonged resistance than was the establishment of our public school system. Fifteen arguments were used against tax-supported public schools, including these: impractical, visionary and too far ahead of the times; would make education too common and educate people out of their class in society; would not benefit the masses, who are already as well cared for as they deserve; would tend to break down desirable social barriers; would injure private and parochial schools; state schools might obstruct church progress and welfare; the state has no right to interfere with parents' education of their children; it is unjust to tax bachelors for the education of other people's children; taking a man's property to educate his neighbor's children is no more defensible than taking a man's plow to plow his neighbor's field; it is unfair to tax the industrious to educate the indolent; education is for the leisure class, and the poor have no leisure.



Half a century after the Declaration of Independence, with the exception of certain portions of New England, free public schools "were the distant hope of statesmen and reformers." As late as 1840 only one-half of the children of New England were given free education, one-seventh of those in the Middle States, and one-sixth of those in the West.

Even when the desirability of universal education was conceded, numerous devices were utilized to avoid taxation for public schools. Connecticut once turned over all proceeds from liquor licenses to the towns for the support of schools. New Orleans licensed two theaters on condition that they each pay three thousand dollars annually for the support of schools. <sup>pp.</sup> Lotteries for the maintenance of schools were used in New York, Kentucky, Delaware, North Carolina, Mississippi, Michigan, Louisiana, Maryland, and in many cities. As late as 1836 Congress passed the last of fourteen bills authorizing <sup>63</sup> lotteries to help provide for public education in the city of Washington. Forty-five per cent of the voters of Indiana in 1849 opposed tax-supported schools. In the 1840's a member of the Rhode Island legislature declared that a bill to provide a small tax for schools, if passed, could not be enforced, even at the point of a bayonet. That taxation for public schools was confiscation seemed obvious to many voters. A legislator in Indiana had carved on his tombstone, "Here lies an enemy of free schools," because he did not want posterity to blame him for the disasters which would follow in the train of public education!

The expansion of public education has been achieved in the face of continuing opposition to the lengthening of the school year, the training of teachers at public expense, the payment of adequate salaries to teachers, free text-books, free school-lunches for the undernourished, kindergarten and nurseries, recreational facilities and free use of athletic equipment, musical training and the free use of band and orchestral instruments, free night classes, graduate and professional courses, and other departments of public education now taken for granted. Surely we have traveled a long distances from the day when taxation for public education was opposed as confiscation of private property.

The theory is now generally accepted, but practice lags far behind in providing an adequate education for children, youth and adults. We still hate to pay the bills. The per capita income, in real purchasing power, has never been so high among any substantial population in all history as is now enjoyed.



by the people of the United States. We have the means and are providing public education on a scale which seems fabulous when contrasted with the past and with similar expenditures in other lands. Yet inadequate salaries for teachers and a tragic shortage of class-room facilities are dooming large numbers of our children to inferior education. The Federal Office of Education recently estimated that nine millions of our children are taught in obsolete or fire-trap buildings or are getting only part-time schooling."

We have the money needed for adequate public education, and are spending vast sums upon liquor, tobacco, cosmetics, amusements, sports, and countless other luxuries, not to mention the billions being spent upon the armed forces of the nation. We cannot say that national poverty prevents the needed expansion of public education.

The Christian citizen has responsibility for helping to create right attitudes toward the public schools. High on the national list of priorities should come funds for adequate public education from nursery to graduate institution. Economies should be made elsewhere than in reducing the quality of our teaching. The entire life of the nation is enriched by proper instruction, and is cursed by the neglect of our children's education.

We should emphasize the fact that the American people have never been willing to grant a monopoly to public education. We have always insisted that parents do not need to send their children to public schools if they will provide education which equals the public standard. So we have always maintained private schools, church schools, and numerous other types. Two requirements are insisted upon: the child must be sent to school, and the quality of instruction must not be lower than the state standard. This is so plainly a wise decision that we have no inclination to change it.

The history of the public school in America should remind us of the powerful tendency to resist new ideas, especially when measures for the public good increase the burden on tax-payers. As a matter of fact, the money we spend on public education pays more generous dividends in the wellbeing of our homes and communities than almost any other form of expenditure. If we provided education through private channels, the benefits would be denied to a substantial proportion of children and the cost per capita of the number receiving education would be increased enormously. Educating our children with funds we provide through taxation is much cheaper and far more satisfactory than for

families to employ private teachers or to send their children to schools supported by private funds. Grumbling about school taxes is a self-centered emotional reponse rather than a rational judgment about national welfare.

The Christian citizen does well to turn to his religious convictions for guidance about education. All of us are members of the one household of God, all are brethren in a common home. We are members one of another and are our brother's keeper. Self-centeredness is shifting sand as a foundation for the good society. God-centeredness and people-centeredness require that all children be provided with the opportunities of a good education and that we pay the bills.

In equalizing the burden, we are utilizing the device of the graduated income tax for a substantial proportion of public funds - richer citizens are contributing more than their per capita share of the cost of educating our children, state governments are sharing the tax proceeds from richer counties with the children of less prosperous counties, and the Federal Government is sharing equitably the proceeds of national taxation with the children of states where the income is lower than the average. This is equity based upon the idea that we are members one of another and must assume mutual responsibility for the common welfare. That the strong should bear the burdens of the weak is good family practice and sound Christian doctrine.

*This is an excellent Chapter  
on education. It is a field in  
which we are particularly  
interested. It is well done  
and interesting reading.*



## THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN AND GOVERNMENT

The theory held by most Americans throughout our history was expressed bluntly by Thomas Jefferson when he said, "That government is best which governs least." Our Founding Fathers were familiar with the tyrannies of history and were aware of the dangers of autocratic power wielded by king and emperor and czar. So they determined that our people should not be cursed with the tyranny of government. They realized, of course, that some government is essential to public safety, but sought to reduce its power to a bare minimum. Since government is evil, let us have as little of this evil as possible, has long been a widely prevalent idea.

This principle was agreeable to pioneers on the frontier of an undeveloped continent. Strong was the insistence upon individual freedom, initiative and responsibility. These rugged individualists did not want to be interfered with, and perhaps least of all by government. So the doctrine that the government should let us alone, keep out of business, and confine its activities to the protection of life and property, sprouted luxuriantly.

The English sociologist and philosopher, Herbert Spencer, had many followers in the United States. He carried the theory of laissez-faire to the extreme that he was opposed to tax-supported education, public libraries, sanitary inspection by government officials, state management of the postoffice, public poor relief, factory legislation, public research, public museums, public parks and recreation centers. In his view the function of the state was entirely negative: it should prevent universally recognized crimes, and punish guilty offenders, and do nothing else. Few Americans went that far in their thinking, but the idea was dominant that the individual should rely upon his own labor, resent interference with his freedom, and scorn public charity.

Ever since the ratification of the Constitution and the creation of our Federal Government, however, the theory has been qualified in practice. Alexander Hamilton insisted successfully that the government should intervene in business on the side of property owners and employers. In his famous Report on Manufactures, he outlined eleven ways in which government might extend aid to manufacturing and trade. When Daniel Webster later studied the writings of the men who founded the Federal Government, he found it "everywhere held up as the main reason for the adoption of the Constitution that it would give the general government the power to regulate commerce and trade."



The protective tariff was inaugurated and has long been a major plank in "good Americanism." Home industries should be protected from foreign competition, infant industries should be given an opportunity to grow - the validity of these ideas appeared axiomatic to many Americans. They did not want the government to keep out of business, but to interfere in behalf of the owners and workers of protected industries, and to take sides against those consumers whose incomes came from unprotected industries and who could have bought at cheaper prices if tariffs on foreign goods had not been imposed. In literal truth, the protective tariff always has been class legislation. So the prevailing idea has been - keep the government out of business except when it interferes on our side. Many fortunes have been made because of high tariffs, and the workers in protected industries have profited through the imposing of higher prices upon many of their unprotected fellow workers.

Imense grants of land were made to financial promoters and builders of railways by local, state and federal governments - a total of 183 million acres or 286,000 square miles, an area greater than all New England, plus New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, with Ohio, Indiana and half of Illinois thrown in for good measure. The total grants-in-aid from governments, including land, cash, materials, and freedom from taxation, paid a high proportion of the total cost of our railways across the nation. The Federal Co-ordinator of Transportation has estimated that the total mount of public aids given to railroads was nearly a billion and a half dollars, an amount equal to the total valuation of all the real and personal property in the United States in the year 1792. Certainly the builders of railways did not want the government to keep out of business.

Large governmental subsidies to business and the public in general have been made in the form of construction of canals, river improvements and harbors. More than three billion dollars have been spent by the federal and state governments on facilities of water transportation. American shipping over a long period has been substantially subsidized by government, through outright gifts, high payment for mail contracts, and various forms of preferential treatment. These subsidies have been persistently sought by shipping concerns through all the years of our history. Wartime government ships have been sold to private companies at prices as low as one-tenth of the actual cost of construction. At various periods discriminatory laws against foreign vessels in



coastwise shipping have proved to be of substantial assistance to American owners. At different times construction loans at low rates of interest have been made to shipbuilders. The right to use public lands has often been granted to individuals and corporations, through leases for grazing cattle, cutting timber, extracting minerals, oil and natural gas. Invaluable help is given to the shipping industry by government lighthouse service, beacons and buoys, survey and mapping, inspection activities, studies of tides and currents.

The promotion of foreign commerce has been an important activity of government from the beginning. The collection and distribution of information about foreign trade has been a continuing service. One authority says that few governments in the world conduct so many experiments and gather so much information of value to the commerce and industry of their citizens as does the United States.

The granting of charters and franchises by government is an important instrument of public assistance to business. So valuable has this privilege been that financial interests have gone to the utmost lengths in their struggle to obtain franchises to operate street cars, elevated railways, subways, gas and electric utilities. Indeed, this effort has been a primary source of political corruption and the degradation of politics.

An important governmental service has been the granting of patents and trade-marks. A patent is a bestowal of a temporary monopoly on a device or machine, and has been the source of great fortunes to individuals and business concerns. Frequently, a registered trade-mark is a valuable asset of a corporation. The right to patents and trade-marks is granted and sustained by government. The right to copyright a written work is security not only to the author but also to book publishers.

One of the most valuable of all government aids to business is the right of limited financial responsibility through incorporation. A stockholder is not responsible for the debts of the corporation beyond the amount he has invested in the corporation. Bankruptcy laws enable debtors to start over after they have gotten themselves hopelessly in debt. Government has sought to lift a crushing burden, for the relief of the debtor and for the salvaging of resources for creditors. Realization of the social significance of bankruptcy laws is deepened by knowledge of the high proportion of business failures.

Government is indispensable in the establishment and maintenance of precise standards of value, weight, measure, and quality. Modern business would be gravely handicapped without the aid of government in controlling money, credit, weights, measures, standards.

Another form of government assistance to business is provided by statistical research and the distributing of information, information of almost every conceivable type, in countless publications and magazines. Numerous departments of government supply a vast stream of information about manufacturing, mining, agriculture, banking, transportation, and other areas of economic life.

Government offers special services to fisheries, through experimental hatcheries, planting of fish, research into propagating conditions, help with marketing practices, conservation of fur seals, regulation of fishing seasons. Special services are offered to the mining industry, including research into efficient methods of extraction and the elimination of waste, the prevention of accidents. Government has rendered special aid to air carriers. During the period 1926-1938, federal, state and local governments expended one hundred and seventy five million dollars on airports, airways, and related services. Without continuing assistance from government, the growth of air traffic would have been seriously retarded.

Financial services of various kinds are rendered to business by government. In 1913 Congress created an independent establishment known as the Federal Reserve System, with twelve federal reserve banks throughout the nation. The Federal Reserve Board has very great power over credit facilities by lowering or raising the rediscount rate, and thus helps to stabilize business. It also issues paper money, and much of the money in circulation is in the form of federal reserve notes. It would be difficult to exaggerate the significance of the federal reserve system to the business and financial life of the nation. Of incalculable help to bankers and depositors is the guarantee of bank deposits by government. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation has rendered vast service to business, through total loans of more than forty billion dollars.

Farmers also have received much help from government, through the Department of Agriculture, the manifold forms of assistance rendered by



agricultural colleges and experiment stations, the providing of agricultural credit, long-term loans and short-term farm credit, crop insurance, and the stabilization of prices.

It is instructive to examine in detail the budget of a municipality, a county, a state, and the Federal Government, and be reminded of the extent to which government is now being utilized by the American people. Impressive indeed is a list of services being rendered: public safety measures through the armed forces, F. B. I., state police, county sheriffs, local police, fire departments of local, county, state and Federal governments, reduction and removal of fire hazards, reduction and prevention of accidents, sanitary and health measures, removal of garbage, street sweeping, pure food laws, inspectors, enforcers.

Public education, including nurseries, kindergartens, grade schools, high schools, colleges, universities, graduate institutions, agricultural colleges, technical colleges, medical colleges, dental colleges, law schools, trade schools, vocational training, night schools, nursing schools, musical conservatories, arts schools, drama schools, schools of business and commerce, public libraries, local, state and national, free test-books, free lunches.

Public services, including the postoffice, parcels post, post savings banks, delivery of mail, special delivery, cash-on-delivery service, registry of mail, rural free delivery, highways and roads and streets, street lighting, street and highway traffic control, local and state and national parks, playgrounds, zoos, beaches, recreational camps, baseball diamonds, tennis courts, golf courses, hospitals, public clinics, visiting nurses, dental inspection, health examinations.

Social security through unemployment insurance, old age and survivors insurance, old age assistance, maternal aid, assistance to children, aid to the blind and deaf and others who are handicapped, aid to veterans, retirements plans for government workers.

Federal agencies of research, supervision and regulation, including Agricultural Research Administration, Atomic Energy Commission, Bureau of Land Management, Bureau of Mines, Bureau of Reclamation, Commodity Credit Corporation, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Commission of Fine Arts, Displaced Persons Commission, Economic Cooperation Commission, Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, Food and

Drug Administration, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Federal Housing Administration, Farmers Home Administration, Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, Federal Power Commission, Federal Reserve Board, Federal Trade Commission, Home Loan Bank Board, Home Owners' Loan Corporation, Inland Waterways Corporation, Interstate Commerce Commission, National Bureau of Standards, National Labor Relations Board, National Park Service, National Shipping Authority, Patent Office, Public Housing Administration, Public Health Service, Rural Electrification Administration, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Securities and Exchange Commission, Soil Conservation Service, United States Employment Service, Veterans Administration, Wage Stabilization Board, Weather Bureau, and numerous city, county and state agencies of research, supervision and regulation.

Government ownership or operation, including Alaskan Railroad, Panama Railroad, Panama Canal, Panama Steamship Company, Tennessee Valley Authority, Grand Coulee Dam Project, Colorado River Project, Missouri Valley Project, Bonneville Project, Fort Peck Project, Central Valley Project, Colorado-Big Thompson Project, Park Dam Project, All-American Canal, barge canals, ship-building, harbors, docks, shipping facilities, vessels, river boats, roads and highways and streets, bridges, tunnels, freight terminals, airlines, airports, pipelines, bus lines, street railways, electric light and power systems, public water works, postoffice buildings, school and college and university buildings and facilities and equipment, libraries, public buildings, housing projects, hotels, commissaries, telephone facilities, fire departments, sewage plants, hospitals, clinics and convalescent homes, lodging houses, farms, dairy-farms, livestock, slaughterhouses, local and state and national parks and recreations centers, playgrounds, public auditoriums, art galleries, museums, band concerts, symphonies, moving pictures, and on and on.

We are making such extensive use of government because of experience and need. We have found that government is an instrument in the hands of the people for serving their own interests. And in ever-widening areas, the people have decided that government is the most suitable instrument to use in an industrial and urban civilization. Our forefathers lived in a simple society under pioneer conditions. In 1790 the population of the United States was just four millions, of whom 700,000 were slaves. Only 200,000 people were



living in urban communities, the two largest cities having a combined population of 63,000, and only 24 cities being as large as 2,500. In 1792 the total receipts of the Federal Government were under four million dollars.

But we now live in an age of bigness - cities, corporations, labor unions. Some years ago a government committee found that only ten of the states have an assessed valuation as great as the assets of the Metropolitan Life Insurance or the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. Each of eighteen states had assessed valuation less than the assets of any one of thirty corporations. The total assets of these thirty corporations was found to be more than 52 billion dollars.

The evidence is plain beyond argument, we have already reached collectivism in industrial and financial affairs. The amount of property owned collectively by investors in corporations, and the volume and proportion of business done by organized investors collectively through corporations, constitute the major facts about the economic life of the United States today.

Under prevailing conditions it is obviously absurd to say, "that government is best which governs least." Government is an instrument in the hands of the people to be used for the general welfare; how extensively and in what ways must be determined in the light of the total situation. That government is best which most wisely serves the people.

The Christian citizen has heavy and inescapable responsibility for helping to create right attitudes toward government. We need to change a widely prevalent feeling that government is something out there, apart from us, which is constantly taking our money and steadily whittling down our liberties. Across three columns of a newspaper shrieked the headline: "You Work Two Months for Tax Collector Each Year, Research Shows." And below are the words: "If you think for a minute you're in for a rude awakening, brother. You might just as well take a two-or-three months vacation, because the Tax Collector is beating you to the pay window for that period of time." In this article and in a thousand others the implication is that the tax-collector is an alien and hostile figure. In some way the tax-collector has the citizen at his mercy and is exacting his pound of flesh. Indeed, an article says: "So it is safe to say that at least 24 per cent of your earnings are being grabbed by the Tax Collector." Being grabbed!

In our democracy who is this man who does the grabbing? Who gives him power? What is the significance of his action? We the people are the government, we make the laws, we impose taxation upon ourselves, we authorized the collector to take his toll, we elect agents to spend this money in our behalf. We are spending a high proportion of our national income in taxes because we have found it desirable to spend this amount in this way because experiences teaches us that we get more for our money from these public expenditures on education, health, recreation, highways, bridges, and ten thousand other services, than if we obtained these advantages through private channels and paid for them that way. We have learned that it is frequently cheaper and more advantageous to act collectively as citizens than to act through private agencies or to act collectively as investors. When we pay in taxes for public services, we are not called upon to pay privately for these advantages. Taxes are not being grabbed by some outside demon. We are imposing taxes upon ourselves because in the situation in which we live we have formed the judgment that we get more for our money in this way.

The Christian citizen has the responsibility and privilege of helping his fellow citizens to understand the true nature of democratic government. All of us are members of God's home, we have dealings only with our kinsmen, every person is precious in God's sight and therefore personality is sacred, all life is partnership, God does his part and places upon every one of us a share of the common task of providing for our wellbeing. In the endeavor to provide abundant life for all people, citizens have in their hands many instruments. One of these is government. When wisely used it becomes a way of bringing countless advantages and privileges to the entire population.

Therefore, there are many sacred callings. We have long realized that the Christian ministry is a sacred calling, and we honor the Christian missionary and the Christian doctor because these men and women are serving humanity. Government service also is a sacred calling. Vast power for good resides in the hands of those individuals who form public policy, legislate ideas into good laws, administer these laws honestly and efficiently for the good of the people. God does not recognize any contrast between the sacred and the secular. All life is his domain. That which increases human wellbeing and improves relationships is sacred. Service through government may be one of the holiest of all occupations.



The Christian citizen has the opportunity of teaching children, youth and adults that "government" is our government, an agency which we may use for our common welfare, and that government service is one of the most significant Christian callings. We should challenge our young women and women to choose government service with the fervor with which we appeal to them to enter the ministry or missionary service.

Because we have not done this with sufficient thoroughness, many citizens have a low estimate of government, believe that it is inherently inefficient and corrupt, and view it with a combination of contempt and hostility. This attitude being so widely prevalent, is it any wonder that government is often wasteful and bungling, that its aid is sought for selfish advantages, and that its administration often reeks with graft and corruption! As long as men turn to government primarily for what they individually can get out of it, democracy will function poorly.

In a society of gigantic institutions, government plays a life-and-death role. Its power continues to grow, and in ten thousand ways the daily lives of all people are affected for good and evil. Democratic government is one of the powerful instruments in the hands of the people for advancing their own wellbeing. So government service offers unlimited opportunity for Christian service. The churches should propagate this idea with massive concentration, should combat the notion that government is an alien body, should train citizens to accept responsibility, and challenge young men and women to enter government service as a life calling. It is the will of God that we love and serve one another.

*This chapter is good, but too long. I have marked one place I think should be trimmed down (p. 6) the first part, where the idea of government service is being developed is the part that could be trimmed a bit. The thesis being developed is good*

## THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN AND GOVERNMENT

The theory held by most Americans throughout our history was expressed bluntly by Thomas Jefferson when he said, "That government is best which governs least." Our Founding Fathers were familiar with the tyrannies of history and were aware of the dangers of autocratic power wielded by king and emperor and czar. So they determined that our people should not be cursed with the tyranny of government. They realized, of course, that some government is essential to public safety, but sought to reduce its power to a bare minimum. Since government is evil, let us have as little of this evil as possible, has long been a widely prevalent idea.

This principle was agreeable to pioneers on the frontier of an undeveloped continent. Strong was the insistence upon individual freedom, initiative and responsibility. These rugged individualists did not want to be interfered with, and perhaps least of all by government. So the doctrine that the government should let us alone, keep out of business, and confine its activities to the protection of life and property, sprouted luxuriantly.

The English sociologist and philosopher, Herbert Spencer, had many followers in the United States. He carried the theory of laissez-faire to the extreme that he was opposed to tax-supported education, public libraries, sanitary inspection by government officials, state management of the postoffice, public poor relief, factory legislation, public research, public museums, public parks and recreation centers. In his view the function of the state was entirely negative; it should prevent universally recognized crimes, and punish guilty offenders, and do nothing else. Few Americans went that far in their thinking, but the idea was dominant that the individual should rely upon his own labor, resent interference with his freedom, and scorn public charity.

Ever since the ratification of the Constitution and the creation of our Federal Government, however, the theory has been qualified in practice. Alexander Hamilton insisted successfully that the government should intervene in business on the side of property owners and employers. In his famous Report on Manufactures, he outlined eleven ways in which government might extend aid to manufacturing and trade. When Daniel Webster later studied the writings of the men who founded the Federal Government, he found it "everywhere held up as the main reason for the adoption of the Constitution that it would give the general government the power to regulate commerce and trade."



The protective tariff was inaugurated and has long been a major plank in "good Americanism." Home industries should be protected from foreign competition, infant industries should be given an opportunity to grow - the validity of these ideas appeared axiomatic to many Americans. They did not want the government to keep out of business, but to interfere in behalf of the owners and workers of protected industries, and to take sides against those consumers whose incomes came from unprotected industries and who could have bought at cheaper prices if tariffs on foreign goods had not been imposed. In literal truth, the protective tariff always has been class legislation. So the prevailing idea has been - keep the government out of business except when it interferes on our side. Many fortunes have been made because of high tariffs, and the workers in protected industries have profited through the imposing of higher prices upon many of their unprotected fellow workers.

Imense grants of land were made to financial promoters and builders of railways by local, state and federal governments - a total of 183 million acres or 286,000 square miles, an area greater than all New England, plus New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, with Ohio, Indiana and half of Illinois thrown in for good measure. The total grants-in-aid from governments, including land, cash, materials, and freedom from taxation, paid a high proportion of the total cost of our railways across the nation. The Federal Co-ordinator of Transportation has estimated that the total mount of public aids given to railroads was nearly a billion and a half dollars, an amount equal to the total valuation of all the real and personal property in the United States in the year 1792. Certainly the builders of railways did not want the government to keep out of business.

Large governmental subsidies to business and the public in general have been made in the form of construction of canals, river improvements and harbors. More than three billion dollars have been spent by the federal and state governments on facilities of water transportation. American shipping over a long period has been substantially subsidized by government, through outright gifts, high payment for mail contracts, and various forms of preferential treatment. These subsidies have been persistently sought by shipping concerns through all the years of our history. Wartime government ships have been sold to private companies at prices as low as one-tenth of the actual cost of construction. At various periods discriminatory laws against foreign vessels in

coastwise shipping have proved to be of substantial assistance to American owners. At different times construction loans at low rates of interest have been made to shipbuilders. The right to use public lands has often been granted to individuals and corporations, through leases for grazing cattle, cutting timber, extracting minerals, oil and natural gas. Invaluable help is given to the shipping industry by government lighthouse service, beacons and buoys, survey and mapping, inspection activities, studies of tides and currents.

The promotion of foreign commerce has been an important activity of government from the beginning. The collection and distribution of information about foreign trade has been a continuing service. One authority says that few governments in the world conduct so many experiments and gather so much information of value to the commerce and industry of their citizens as does the United States.

The granting of charters and franchises by government is an important instrument of public assistance to business. So valuable has this privilege been that financial interests have gone to the utmost lengths in their struggle to obtain franchises to operate street cars, elevated railways, subways, gas and electric utilities. Indeed, this effort has been a primary source of political corruption and the degradation of politics.

An important governmental service has been the granting of patents and trade-marks. A patent is a bestowal of a temporary monopoly on a device or machine, and has been the source of great fortunes to individuals and business concerns. Frequently, a registered trade-mark is a valuable asset of a corporation. The right to patents and trade-marks is granted and sustained by government. The right to copyright a written work is security not only to the author but also to book publishers.

One of the most valuable of all government aids to business is the right of limited financial responsibility through incorporation. A stockholder is not responsible for the debts of the corporation beyond the amount he has invested in the corporation. Bankruptcy laws enable debtors to start over after they have gotten themselves hopelessly in debt. Government has sought to lift a crushing burden, for the relief of the debtor and for the salvaging of resources for creditors. Realization of the social significance of bankruptcy laws is deepened by knowledge of the high proportion of business failures.



Government is indispensable in the establishment and maintenance of precise standards of value, weight, measure, and quality. Modern business would be gravely handicapped without the aid of government in controlling money, credit, weights, measures, standards.

Another form of government assistance to business is provided by statistical research and the distributing of information, information of almost every conceivable type, in countless publications and magazines. Numerous departments of government supply a vast stream of information about manufacturing, mining, agriculture, banking, transportation, and other areas of economic life.

Government offers special services to fisheries, through experimental hatcheries, planting of fish, research into propagating conditions, help with marketing practices, conservation of fur seals, regulation of fishing seasons. Special services are offered to the mining industry, including research into efficient methods of extraction and the elimination of waste, the prevention of accidents. Government has rendered special aid to air carriers. During the period 1926-1938, federal, state and local governments expended one hundred and seventy five million dollars on airports, airways, and related services. Without continuing assistance from government, the growth of air traffic would have been seriously retarded.

Financial services of various kinds are rendered to business by government. In 1913 Congress created an independent establishment known as the Federal Reserve System, with twelve federal reserve banks throughout the nation. The Federal Reserve Board has very great power over credit facilities by lowering or raising the rediscount rate, and thus helps to stabilize business. It also issues paper money, and much of the money in circulation is in the form of federal reserve notes. It would be difficult to exaggerate the significance of the federal reserve system to the business and financial life of the nation. Of incalculable help to bankers and depositors is the guarantee of bank deposits by government. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation has rendered vast service to business, through total loans of more than forty billion dollars.

Farmers also have received much help from government, through the Department of Agriculture, the manifold forms of assistance rendered by

agricultural colleges and experiment stations, the providing of agricultural credit, long-term loans and short-term farm credit, crop insurance, and the stabilization of prices.

It is instructive to examine in detail the budget of a municipality, a county, a state, and the Federal Government, and be reminded of the extent to which government is now being utilized by the American people. Impressive indeed is a list of services being rendered: public safety measures through the armed forces, F. B. I., state police, county sheriffs, local police, fire departments of local, county, state and Federal governments, reduction and removal of fire hazards, reduction and prevention of accidents, sanitary and health measures, removal of garbage, street sweeping, pure food laws, inspectors, enforcers.

Public education, including nurseries, kindergartens, grade schools, high schools, colleges, universities, graduate institutions, agricultural colleges, technical colleges, medical colleges, dental colleges, law schools, trade schools, vocational training, night schools, nursing schools, musical conservatories, arts schools, drama schools, schools of business and commerce, public libraries, local, state and national, free test-books, free lunches.

Public services, including the postoffice, parcels post, post savings banks, delivery of mail, special delivery, cash-on-delivery service, registry of mail, rural free delivery, highways and roads and streets, street lighting, street and highway traffic control, local and state and national parks, playgrounds, zoos, beaches, recreational camps, baseball diamonds, tennis courts, golf courses, hospitals, public clinics, visiting nurses, dental inspection, health examinations.

Social security through unemployment insurance, old age and survivors insurance, old age assistance, maternal aid, assistance to children, aid to the blind and deaf and others who are handicapped, aid to veterans, retirements plans for government workers.

Federal agencies of research, supervision and regulation, including Agricultural Research Administration, Atomic Energy Commission, Bureau of Land Management, Bureau of Mines, Bureau of Reclamation, Commodity Credit Corporation, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Commission of Fine Arts, Displaced Persons Commission, Economic Cooperation Commission, Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, Food and



Drug Administration, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Federal Housing Administration, Farmers Home Administration, Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, Federal Power Commission, Federal Reserve Board, Federal Trade Commission, Home Loan Bank Board, Home Owners' Loan Corporation, Inland Waterways Corporation, Interstate Commerce Commission, National Bureau of Standards, National Labor Relations Board, National Park Service, National Shipping Authority, Patent Office, Public Housing Administration, Public Health Service, Rural Electrification Administration, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Securities and Exchange Commission, Soil Conservation Service, United States Employment Service, Veterans Administration, Wage Stabilization Board, Weather Bureau, and numerous city, county and state agencies of research, supervision and regulation.

Government ownership or operation, including Alaskan Railroad, Panama Railroad, Panama Canal, Panama Steamship Company, Tennessee Valley Authority, Grand Coulee Dam Project, Colorado River Project, Missouri Valley Project, Bonneville Project, Fort Peck Project, Central Valley Project, Colorado-Big Thompson Project, Park Dam Project, All-American Canal, barge canals, ship-building, harbors, docks, shipping facilities, vessels, river boats, roads and highways and streets, bridges, tunnels, freight terminals, airlines, airports, pipelines, bus lines, street railways, electric light and power systems, public water works, postoffice buildings, school and college and university buildings and facilities and equipment, libraries, public buildings, housing projects, hotels, commissaries, telephone facilities, fire departments, sewage plants, hospitals, clinics and convalescent homes, lodging houses, farms, dairy-farms, livestock, slaughterhouses, local and state and national parks and recreations centers, playgrounds, public auditoriums, art galleries, museums, band concerts, symphonies, moving pictures, and on and on.

We are making such extensive use of government because of experience and need. We have found that government is an instrument in the hands of the people for serving their own interests. And in ever-widening areas, the people have decided that government is the most suitable instrument to use in an industrial and urban civilization. Our forefathers lived in a simple society under pioneer conditions. In 1790 the population of the United States was just four millions, of whom 700,000 were slaves. Only 200,000 people were

living in urban communities, the two largest cities having a combined population of 63,000, and only 24 cities being as large as 2,500. In 1792 the total receipts of the Federal Government were under four million dollars.

But we now live in an age of bigness - cities, corporations, labor unions. Some years ago a government committee found that only ten of the states have an assessed valuation as great as the assets of the Metropolitan Life Insurance or the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. Each of eighteen states had assessed valuation less than the assets of any one of thirty corporations. The total assets of these thirty corporations was found to be more than 52 billion dollars.

The evidence is plain beyond argument, we have already reached collectivism in industrial and financial affairs. The amount of property owned collectively by investors in corporations, and the volume and proportion of business done by organized investors collectively through corporations, constitute the major facts about the economic life of the United States today.

Under prevailing conditions it is obviously absurd to say, "that government is best which governs least." Government is an instrument in the hands of the people to be used for the general welfare; how extensively and in what ways must be determined in the light of the total situation. That government is best which most wisely serves the people.

The Christian citizen has heavy and inescapable responsibility for helping to create right attitudes toward government. We need to change a widely prevalent feeling that government is something out there, apart from us, which is constantly taking our money and steadily whittling down our liberties. Across three columns of a newspaper shrieked the headline: "You Work Two Months for Tax Collector Each Year, Research Shows." And below are the words: "If you think for a minute you're in for a rude awakening, brother. You might just as well take a two-or-three months vacation, because the Tax Collector is beating you to the pay window for that period of time." In this article and in a thousand others the implication is that the tax-collector is an alien and hostile figure. In some way the tax-collector has the citizen at his mercy and is exacting his pound of flesh. Indeed, an article says: "So it is safe to say that at least 24 per cent of your earnings are being grabbed by the Tax Collector." Being grabbed!



In our democracy who is this man who does the grabbing? Who gives him power? What is the significance of his action? We the people are the government, we make the laws, we impose taxation upon ourselves, we authorized the collector to take his toll, we elect agents to spend this money in our behalf. We are spending a high proportion of our national income in taxes because we have found it desirable to spend this amount in this way because experiences teaches us that we get more for our money from these public expenditures on education, health, recreation, highways, bridges, and ten thousand other services, than if we obtained these advantages through private channels and paid for them that way. We have learned that it is frequently cheaper and more advantageous to act collectively as citizens than to act through private agencies or to act collectively as investors. When we pay in taxes for public services, we are not called upon to pay privately for these advantages. Taxes are not being grabbed by some outside demon. We are imposing taxes upon ourselves because in the situation in which we live we have formed the judgment that we get more for our money in this way.

The Christian citizen has the responsibility and privilege of helping his fellow citizens to understand the true nature of democratic government. All of us are members of God's home, we have dealings only with our kinsmen, every person is precious in God's sight and therefore personality is sacred, all life is partnership, God does his part and places upon every one of us a share of the common task of providing for our wellbeing. In the endeavor to provide abundant life for all people, citizens have in their hands many instruments. One of these is government. When wisely used it becomes a way of bringing countless advantages and privileges to the entire population.

Therefore, there are many sacred callings. We have long realized that the Christian ministry is a sacred calling, and we honor the Christian missionary and the Christian doctor because these men and women are serving humanity. Government service also is a sacred calling. Vast power for good resides in the hands of those individuals who form public policy, legislate ideas into good laws, administer these laws honestly and efficiently for the good of the people. God does not recognize any contrast between the sacred and the secular. All life is his domain. That which increases human wellbeing and improves relationships is sacred. Service through government may be one of the holiest of all occupations.

The Christian citizen has the opportunity of teaching children, youth and adults that "government" is our government, an agency which we may use for our common welfare, and that government service is one of the most significant Christian callings. We should challenge our young women and women to choose government service with the fervor with which we appeal to them to enter the ministry or missionary service.

Because we have not done this with sufficient thoroughness, many citizens have a low estimate of government, believe that it is inherently inefficient and corrupt, and view it with a combination of contempt and hostility. This attitude being so widely prevalent, is it any wonder that government is often wasteful and bungling, that its aid is sought for selfish advantages, and that its administration often reeks with graft and corruption! As long as men turn to government primarily for what they individually can get out of it, democracy will function poorly.

In a society of gigantic institutions, government plays a life-and-death role. Its power continues to grow, and in ten thousand ways the daily lives of all people are affected for good and evil. Democratic government is one of the powerful instruments in the hands of the people for advancing their own wellbeing. So government service offers unlimited opportunity for Christian service. The churches should propagate this idea with massive concentration, should combat the notion that government is an alien body, should train citizens to accept responsibility, and challenge young men and women to enter government service as a life calling. It is the will of God that we love and serve one another.



## THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN AND SOCIAL SECURITY

In an industrial and urban civilization, an individual is at the mercy of many forces beyond his personal control. Self-employment remains possible for only a small percentage of the population. Handicraft is being replaced by mass production, the small shop is being supplanted by the huge factory. The tools of production, to an ever increasing degree, are owned by corporations. The livelihood of most wage earners depends upon their ability to find employment from owners of the means of production. Individually they cannot determine the wages they receive, and they cannot set the prices they pay for goods and services. They must take the going wage and pay the prevailing price.

Whether they are able to find work often depends upon forces beyond their control. Little do they understand the mystery of the business cycle, and faint is their understanding of the underlying forces which produce "boom and bust." Charts prepared by experts show that in the history of the United States in one year out of three the people have enjoyed prosperity, in one year out of three they have been plunged into the depth of depression, and in one year out of three they were falling into the economic abyss or climbing painfully out of it.

Even the self-employed cannot escape the general insecurity which prevails. If he is a small producer of commodities, he cannot determine the price he pays for raw materials, and he is unable to set the price for which he sells. He operates under general conditions which he little understands and over which his personal control is negligible. He is surrounded by gigantic corporations, and he must, as Herbert Hoover once said, "put his nose on the emery wheel of competition." And the record of bankruptcies and business failures makes it clear that his statistical chance of long survival as an independent operator is slight indeed.

When a man enters the managerial class and finds employment with a large corporation, he must administer policies which he does not determine, but which are decided upon by the board of directors. Even when he reaches a high round on the economic ladder, he remains a cog in a vast wheel and is subjected to a high degree of insecurity. The investor likewise may discover that much of the value of his savings has been swept away by an unforeseen decline. Even those who control giant industries cannot know long in advance



whether they will be able to keep their plants operating at full capacity or whether by inability to find customers they will be compelled to slow down to eighty percent or to thirty percent.

Making a living has always been a hazardous procedure for most of the human race, and in a society of gigantic institutions and a network of infinite complexity, old hazards have been replaced by new ones. The insense of insecurity haunts most workers and employers like a ghost in an abandoned house at midnight. And the consequences are reflected in the statistics of nervous diseases, mental ill health, and heart failure.

There are no self-made men and few are the individuals who possess economic security. Alike we are the victims of bigness, complexity and unpredictability. And when a man in desperation flees from society and tries to eke out an existence in isolation, he finds himself still in the grip of insecurity. Whichever way an individual turns in this age under prevailing conditions, he remains a victim of insecurity. By himself he cannot control his own economic future.

All this helps us to understand why we are rapidly being driven to the conclusion that we must share the consequences of insecurity of income by various forms of insurance and group action. We have learned much from our experiences with fire. When a single family must take the full consequence of a burned home, the blow may be that of stark disaster. When many families pay small annual premiums and pool the risks of fire, a home may be rebuilt with insurance money. So we have decided to pool the loss of income from sickness, accidents, unemployment and old age.

We came to this conclusion reluctantly because we had long been taught to depend upon individual initiative and private savings for rainy days and for old age. Tenaciously we clung to the idea that a man must provide for his own livelihood and that of his family. As late as the last days of President Hoover in the White House, he still maintained that the federal government had no financial responsibility for the unemployed, they must depend upon their own energies or be taken care of by private charity or municipal or state agencies. The stark tragedy of the depression which began with the stock market crash of 1929 drove us against our judgment into governmental provisions for social security. Even the American Federation of Labor opposed governmental insurance against the primary hazards until driven forward by economic desperation in the pit of depression.



We were driven into legislation providing for social security benefits not merely by the sufferings of the victims, but also by a growing realization that the loss of purchasing power on the part of these victims substantially reduced the selling power of producers and thereby jeopardized the economic wellbeing of the entire nation. We discovered that we could not afford to permit large numbers of our people to remain with low purchasing power. We were driven to the realization that poverty for the many imperils the security of the prosperous.

It was experience which drove us to The Social Security Act of 1935 and to its subsequent modifications. We decided that we must pool the losses from disability, unemployment and old age, and pay the bills resulting from our inability to earn a living wage. Just as we previously had decided that it is better for us to pay for our education, so we now concluded that it is more sensible for us to pay for our economic security. Individual responsibility for personal and family economic wellbeing is now being supplemented by social responsibility for the general economic welfare. "I" is being supplemented by "we".

This change of mind is evidenced in the Social Security Amendments Act of 1952 and the further amendments proposed in pending legislation. We are now providing ourselves with unemployment insurance, temporary disability insurance, old age assistance, aid to dependent children, aid to the blind, aid to permanently and totally disabled, and general assistance. There is every reason to anticipate continued expansion of this program, with ever widening coverage until the entire population is brought under the tent of social security, and with increasing adequacy of payments to the victimized. We are doing more and more things for ourselves.

This trend is visible also in the field of health and physical wellbeing. We are deciding that more and more we will provide ourselves with the facilities of health. We are meeting the same kind of opposition that confronted the movement for public schools. Compared with the seventy-five years required to change the idea, "a child is entitled to as much education as his parents can afford," into the conviction, "a child is entitled to as much education as the community can afford," we seem to be at least half way down the road to the full acceptance of the same policy in relation to health.



With increasing clarity we see the public hazard of assuming that a child is entitled to as good health as his family can pay for. Rapidly we are coming to realize that we cannot afford to have a substantial part of the population in poor health. The burden is too heavy upon them and upon the rest of us. It is cheaper and better for us to provide ourselves with the facilities of good health.

Consider the present trend. One-fourth of all practicing physicians in the United States are employed by groups, industrial concerns and government, instead of engaging in private practice. Three out of every four beds in the hospitals of the nation are maintained by local, state and federal governments. Half or more of the cost of maintaining our hospitals is now provided by tax funds. Public health measures are constantly being expanded, with increasing consideration being given to preventive measures. We are rapidly making up our minds to pay for our own health.

This movement is being slowed down by resentment against and fear of "socialized" medicine, just as there was a long period of hostility toward "socialized" education. More satisfactory progress will be made if we will keep in mind constantly the fact that we never gave a monopoly to public education and we will never give a monopoly to public health. What we did in education was to provide public schools and make them available to everybody, but we did not compel a child to attend the public school, if he was provided with an equivalent education in other ways. That is what we will do with regard to health. We will provide adequate health facilities for the entire population, but we will never give a monopoly to public agencies. If a family prefers to consult a private physician or to make use of a voluntary group health plan, he will be permitted to do so. As a family does not escape the payment of school taxes by sending children to a private school, so all of us must be taxed for the payment of a system of public health.

Many of the objections to tax-supported schools were emotional rather than logical, and much of the opposition to the extension of the facilities of public health is rooted in misunderstanding. We are often told that doctors cannot be expected to do their best work if they are paid regular salaries. But clergymen are paid salaries, judges are paid salaries, bank presidents are paid salaries, school teachers and university professors are



paid salaries, many eminent scientists are paid salaries, the President of the United States is paid a salary. And, as a matter of fact, one-fourth of all physicians in this country are now paid salaries. Another argument against "socialized" medicine is that a patient will not consent to the system of having a doctor assigned to him. He will insist upon his right of choice. The fact is that under the prevailing and proposed types of group and public medicine, the patient is given wide latitude in his choice of a doctor.

If we escape the ravages of another world war, there is a high probability that within twenty-five years the American people will be as thoroughly committed to a system of public health as they are now to the maintenance of public education for all our people.

The Christian citizen should make up his mind about health in the light of the requirements of his religion. We believe in one God, our loving heavenly Father. We know that every human being is precious in the sight of God. We realize that we are bound together by the cords of interdependence, and that mutual responsibility is imposed upon us. Cooperatively we must provide ourselves with education, security and health. It is cheaper and more satisfactory for us to do these things together. We are taught to pray for our daily bread and to seek the coming on earth of the Kingdom of God. In the family of God the appropriate words are we and us and our. Isolated individuals can never create the good society. We must work together for our wellbeing.

## THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN AND SOCIAL SECURITY

In an industrial and urban civilization, an individual is at the mercy of many forces beyond his personal control. Self-employment remains possible for only a small percentage of the population. Handicraft is being replaced by mass production, the small shop is being supplanted by the huge factory. The tools of production, to an ever increasing degree, are owned by corporations. The livelihood of most wage earners depends upon their ability to find employment from owners of the means of production. Individually they cannot determine the wages they receive, and they cannot set the prices they pay for goods and services. They must take the going wage and pay the prevailing price.

Whether they are able to find work often depends upon forces beyond their control. Little do they understand the mystery of the business cycle, and faint is their understanding of the underlying forces which produce "boom and bust." Charts prepared by experts show that in the history of the United States in one year out of three the people have enjoyed prosperity, in one year out of three they have been plunged into the depth of depression, and in one year out of three they were falling into the economic abyss or climbing painfully out of it.

*Until recent times which have helped after last depression*  
Even the self-employed cannot escape the general insecurity which prevails. If he is a small producer of commodities, he cannot determine the price he pays for raw materials, and he is unable to set the price for which he sells. He operates under general conditions which he little understands and over which his personal control is negligible. He is surrounded by gigantic corporations, and he must, as Herbert Hoover once said, "put his nose on the emery wheel of competition." And the record of bankruptcies and business failures makes it clear that his statistical chance of long survival as an independent operator is slight indeed.

When a man enters the managerial class and finds employment with a large corporation, he must administer policies which he does not determine, but which are decided upon by the board of directors. Even when he reaches a high round on the economic ladder, he remains a cog in a vast wheel and is subjected to a high degree of insecurity. The investor likewise may discover that much of the value of his savings has been swept away by an unforeseen decline. Even those who control giant industries cannot know long in advance



whether they will be able to keep their plants operating at full capacity or whether by inability to find customers they will be compelled to slow down to eighty percent or to thirty percent.

Making a living has always been a hazardous procedure for most of the human race, and in a society of gigantic institutions and a network of infinite complexity, old hazards have been replaced by new ones. The insense of insecurity haunts most workers and employers like a ghost in an abandoned house at midnight. And the consequences are reflected in the statistics of nervous diseases, mental ill health, and heart failure.

There are no self-made men and few are the individuals who possess economic security. Alike we are the victims of bigness, complexity and unpredictability. And when a man in desperation flees from society and tries to eke out an existence in isolation, he finds himself still in the grip of insecurity. Whichever way an individual turns in this age under prevailing conditions, he remains a victim of insecurity. By himself he cannot control his own economic future.

All this helps us to understand why we are rapidly being driven to the conclusion that we must share the consequences of insecurity of income by various forms of insurance and group action. We have learned much from our experiences with fire. When a single family must take the full consequence of a burned home, the blow may be that of stark disaster. When many families pay small annual premiums and pool the risks of fire, a home may be rebuilt with insurance money. So we have decided to pool the loss of income from sickness, accidents, unemployment and old age.

We came to this conclusion reluctantly because we had long been taught to depend upon individual initiative and private savings for rainy days and for old age. Tenaciously we clung to the idea that a man must provide for his own livelihood and that of his family. As late as the last days of President Hoover in the White House, he still maintained that the federal government had no financial responsibility for the unemployed, they must depend upon their own energies or be taken care of by private charity or municipal or state agencies. The stark tragedy of the depression which began with the stock market crash of 1929 drove us against our judgment into governmental provisions for social security. Even the American Federation of Labor opposed governmental insurance against the primary hazards until driven forward by economic desperation in the pit of depression.

We were driven into legislation providing for social security benefits not merely by the sufferings of the victims, but also by a growing realization that the loss of purchasing power on the part of these victims substantially reduced the selling power of producers and thereby jeopardized the economic wellbeing of the entire nation. We discovered that we could not afford to permit large numbers of our people to remain with low purchasing power. We were driven to the realization that poverty for the many imperils the security of the prosperous.

It was experience which drove us to The Social Security Act of 1935 and to its subsequent modifications. We decided that we must pool the losses from disability, unemployment and old age, and pay the bills resulting from our inability to earn a living wage. Just as we previously had decided that it is better for us to pay for our education, so we now concluded that it is more sensible for us to pay for our economic security. Individual responsibility for personal and family economic wellbeing is now being supplemented by social responsibility for the general economic welfare. "I" is being supplemented by "we".

This change of mind is evidenced in the Social Security Amendments Act of 1952 and the further amendments proposed in pending legislation. We are now providing ourselves with unemployment insurance, temporary disability insurance, old age assistance, aid to dependent children, aid to the blind, aid to permanently and totally disabled, and general assistance. There is every reason to anticipate continued expansion of this program, with ever widening coverage until the entire population is brought under the tent of social security, and with increasing adequacy of payments to the victimized. We are doing more and more things for ourselves.

This trend is visible also in the field of health and physical wellbeing. We are deciding that more and more we will provide ourselves with the facilities of health. We are meeting the same kind of opposition that confronted the movement for public schools. Compared with the seventy-five years required to change the idea, "a child is entitled to as much education as his parents can afford," into the conviction, "a child is entitled to as much education as the community can afford," we seem to be at least half way down the road to the full acceptance of the same policy in relation to health.



With increasing clarity we see the public hazard of assuming that a child is entitled to as good health as his family can pay for. Rapidly we are coming to realize that we cannot afford to have a substantial part of the population in poor health. The burden is too heavy upon them and upon the rest of us. It is cheaper and better for us to provide ourselves with the facilities of good health.

Consider the present trend. One-fourth of all practicing physicians in the United States are employed by groups, industrial concerns and government, instead of engaging in private practice. Three out of every four beds in the hospitals of the nation are maintained by local, state and federal governments. Half or more of the cost of maintaining our hospitals is now provided by tax funds. Public health measures are constantly being expanded, with increasing consideration being given to preventive measures. We are rapidly making up our minds to pay for our own health.

This movement is being slowed down by resentment against and fear of "socialized" medicine, just as there was a long period of hostility toward "socialized" education. More satisfactory progress will be made if we will keep in mind constantly the fact that we never gave a monopoly to public education and we will never give a monopoly to public health. What we did in education was to provide public schools and make them available to everybody, but we did not compel a child to attend the public school, if he was provided with an equivalent education in other ways. That is what we will do with regard to health. We will provide adequate health facilities for the entire population, but we will never give a monopoly to public agencies. If a family prefers to consult a private physician or to make use of a voluntary group health plan, he will be permitted to do so. As a family does not escape the payment of school taxes by sending children to a private school, so all of us must be taxed for the payment of a system of public health.

Many of the objections to tax-supported schools were emotional rather than logical, and much of the opposition to the extension of the facilities of public health is rooted in misunderstanding. We are often told that doctors cannot be expected to do their best work if they are paid regular salaries. But clergymen are paid salaries, judges are paid salaries, bank presidents are paid salaries, school teachers and university professors are

paid salaries, many eminent scientists are paid salaries, the President of the United States is paid a salary. And, as a matter of fact, one-fourth of all physicians in this country are now paid salaries. Another argument against "socialized" medicine is that a patient will not consent to the system of having a doctor assigned to him. He will insist upon his right of choice. The fact is that under the prevailing and proposed types of group and public medicine, the patient is given wide latitude in his choice of a doctor.

If we escape the ravages of another world war, there is a high probability that within twenty-five years the American people will be as thoroughly committed to a system of public health as they are now to the maintenance of public education for all our people.

The Christian citizen should make up his mind about health in the light of the requirements of his religion. We believe in one God, our loving heavenly Father. We know that every human being is precious in the sight of God. We realize that we are bound together by the cords of interdependence, and that mutual responsibility is imposed upon us. Cooperatively we must provide ourselves with education, security and health. It is cheaper and more satisfactory for us to do these things together. We are taught to pray for our daily bread and to seek the coming on earth of the Kingdom of God. In the family of God the appropriate words are we and us and our. Isolated individuals can never create the good society. We must work together for our wellbeing.

*This is a good chapter - well written, not too long in development. (I know some people who will put up an argument to the idea, but you are right.)*